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Vol. 1

TRACTS AND OTHER PAPERS,

RELATING PRINCIPALLY TO THE

ORIGIN, SETTLEMENT, AND PROGRESS

OF THE

COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA,

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTRY TO THE YEAR 1776.

COLLECTED BY PETER FORCE.

VOL. I.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The Compiler of the following Volume having been led by circumstances into an examination somewhat extensive, of the sources of our history, experienced much difficulty in procuring the Pamphlets and smaller Tracts that relate to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of the American Colonies. Of the vast number of publications of this description that were made during the two centuries and a half succeeding the discovery of America, a few only can be found in this country, and these are almost entirely confined to libraries connected with our public institutions: many of them are of great value as authentic historical records, and all are interesting to those who take pleasure in tracing step by step the progress of the Colonies, in population, wealth, and power, within the comparatively short period that intervened between the landing of the first white man upon the Continent, and the establishment of a free and independent Government by the People of the United States of America. These considerations suggested the plan of the Collection now commenced.

Of the thirteen Tracts contained in the present volume, Nos. 2 and 10 have not heretofore been printed, and Nos. 8 and 9 now appear for the first time in a connected form: the others, as will be seen by referring to the title pages which are copied at large, are republications.

WASHINGTON, *January* 7, 1836.

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A

Discourse

Concerning the design'd

ESTABLISHMENT

Of a New

COLONY

TO THE

South of *Carolina*,

IN THE

Most delightful Country of the Universe.

By Sir Robert Mountgomry, *Baronet.*

LONDON: Printed in the Year 1717.

P. Force, *Washington*, 1835.

DISCOURSE.

IT will perhaps afford some Satisfaction to the Gentlemen of *Carolina*, to know, that my Design arises not from any sudden Motive, but a strong Bent of Genius I inherit from my Ancestors: One of whom was among those Knights of *Nova Scotia* purposely created near a hundred Years ago, for settling a *Scots Colony in* America. But the Conquest of that Country by the *French* prevented his Design, and so it lies on his Posterity to make good his Intentions for the Service of their Country.

The Humour however Descended, and ran down with the Blood: For my Father was so far of this Opinion, that, together with Lord *Cardross* the late Earl of *Buchan*, and some other Gentlemen, he enter'd into Measures for Establishing a Settlement on *Port-Royal River* in *South-Carolina*, and Lord *Cardross* went thither in Person; but the *Spaniards* dislodg'd them, and destroy'd the Plantation: Advantage being taken of some Confusions, which arose through the want of full Powers, and distinct Jurisdiction.

The charming Descriptions, which on this last Occasion, I met with, of the natural Sweetness, and Beauties, of *Carolina*, inspir'd me with an early Affection to that Place, in particular. But the Wars intervening, and calling for my Sword, in the more immediate Service of my Country, gave me no Opportunity to put in Practice certain Schemes which occur'd, effectually forming a Settlement there, till just now; when together with some of my Friends, who unite their Endeavours with mine, I am like, by continuance of the *Indian* Disturbances, to enjoy my own Wish, with the Additional Pleasure of being useful to the Province.

Tho' our Design does not altogether depend on the Subscription of Purchasers, herein propos'd, yet our own Stock so encreas'd will be made more effectual, and we shall give at the same Time an Opportunity to many of Sharing in our Benefits. who cou'd not be otherwise concern'd in the Undertaking.

If therefore, the Offer, which we make, shall meet with En-

couragement, 'twill, by Dividing our Burthen, somewhat lighten it; If it fails, 'twill no further Disappoint us, than as it leaves us to do That *alone*, which might better, be done with the expected Assistance.

R. Mountgomry.

Of the Motives, and Foundation of the Undertaking.

PLANTATIONS of new Countries, says the Great Lord *Bacon, are among the Primitive, and most Heroick Works of Man.* They are meritorious in a double Sense; *Religiously*, as they illuminate the Souls of Heathens through the Darkness of their Ignorance, and *Politically*, as they strengthen the Dominion, which sends out the Colony, and wonderfully more than any other Means enrich the Undertakers.

But as such Attempts are *Great*, so also are they *Dangerous*. One early Caution easily secures their future Benefits; one little Error in Foundation overthrows the Building. It is to a Defect *in setting out*, that all our noble Colonies upon the Western Continent have ow'd their Disappointments; *To a want of due Precaution* in *their Forms of Settling*, or rather, to their settling without any Form at all: The Planters grasp'd at an undue Extent of Land, exceeding their Capacity to manage, or defend: This scatter'd them to Distances unsafe, and solitary, so that, living in a Wilderness, incapable of mutual Aid, the necessary Artizans found no Encouragement to dwell among them; Their Woods remain'd unclear'd; their Fens undrain'd; The Air by that Means prov'd unhealthy, and the Roads impassable; For want of Towns, and Places of Defence, they suddenly became a Prey to all Invaders even the unformidable *Indians* took Advantage of the Oversight; and *Carolina*, is, at present, groaning under a most bloody Persecution, from a wild and despicable Kind of Enemy, who had not dar'd to think of the Attempt, but from an Observation daily made, how open and unguarded they might take the *English*.

From these Examples, and the Neighbourhood of the intended Settlement to *Carolina* thus distress'd, our *future Eden*, made early wise by Dangers, which she feels not, would not only fix her Foot upon a firm Foundation, so as to resist a Storm Herself, but she wou'd also spread her Wings to a Capacity of Shadowing Others: A *British* Colony, shou'd like the *Roman*, carry with it always something of the *Mother's* Glory.

Excited therefore, by an earnest Inclination to establish such a Settlement, as may, by new Means, yield new Benefits, as well in Wealth, as Safety, and resolving to proceed upon a Scheme

entirely different from any hitherto attempted, and which appears to promise great, and inexpressible Advantages; the Grant on which we found the Undertaking, will be seen in the following Abstract.

"THE underwritten Palatine and Lords Proprietors of the "Province of *Carolina*, do on the Considerations herein "after mention'd, grant, sell, alien, release, and confirm to Sir "*Robert Mountgomry*, Baronet, his Heirs, and Assigns, for "ever, all that Tract of Land, which lies between the Rivers "*Allatamaha*, and *Savanna*, together with the Islands, Ports, "Harbours, Bays, and Rivers on that Part of the Coast, which "lies between the Mouths of the said two Rivers to the Sea-"ward; and moreover all Veins, Mines, and Quarries of Gold, "and Silver, and all other whatever, be they of Stones, Metals "or any other Things found, or to be found within that Tract "of Land, and the Limits aforesaid; With Liberty over and "above to make Settlements *on the South Side of* Allatamaha "*River*, which Tract of Land the said underwritten Lords do "erect into a distinct Province, with proper Jurisdictions, Pri-"viledges, Prerogatives, and Franchises, Independent of, and "not Subject to the Laws of *South Carolina*, to be holden of "the said Lords by Sir *Robert*, his heirs, and Assigns for ever, "under the Name and Title of the *Margravate* of *Azilia*; at "and under the yearly Quitrent of one Penny Sterling *per* "Acre, or its Value in Goods, or Merchandise, as the Land "shall be occupied, taken up, or run out; Payable yearly to the "Lords Proprietors Officers at *Charles-Town*, but such Pay-"ment not to commence, till three Years after Arrival of the "first Ships there, which shall be sent over to begin the Set-"tlement; over and above which Penny *per* Acre, Sir *Robert*, "his Heirs, and Assigns, shall also yield, and pay to the Lords "Proprietors, one fourth Part of all Gold, or Silver Oar, be-"sides the Quota reserv'd to the Crown out of the said Royal "Minerals: Distinct Courts of Judicature to be erected, and "such Laws enacted within the *Margravate*, by and with the "Advice, Assent, and Approbation of the Freemen thereof in "Publick Assembly, as shall be most conducive to the Utility "of the said *Margravate*, and as near as may be conveniently "agreeable to the Laws, and Customs of *England*, but so as "such Laws do not extend to lay Duties or Custom, or other "Obstruction upon the Navigation of either of the said Rivers, "by any Inhabitant of *South*, or *North Carolina*, or their free "Commerce and Trade with the *Indian* Nations, either within, "or to the Southward of the *Margravate*, Sir *Robert* consenting "that the same Duty shall be charg'd on Skins within the "*Margravate*, which at this Time stands charg'd on such Skins "in *South Carolina*, and appropriated to the Maintenance of

" the Clergy there, so long as that Duty is continued in *South*
" *Carolina*, but the said Duty shall not be encreas'd in *Azilia*,
" tho' the Assembly of *South Carolina* shou'd think fit to en-
" crease it there, nor shall it longer continue to be paid, than
" while it shall remain appropriated, as at present, to the Main-
" tenance of the Clergy only: In Consideration of all which
" Powers, Rights, Priviledges, Prerogatives, and Franchises, Sir
" *Robert* shall Transport at his own Expence, a considerable
" Number of Families with all Necessaries for making a new
" Settlement in the said Tract of Land, and in Case it be
" neglected for the Space of three Years from the Date of this
" Grant, The then Grant shall become void, any Thing herein
" contain'd to the contrary notwithstanding. Dated *June* the
" Nineteenth, 1717.

Cartaret, Palatine.
Ja. Bertie for the
Duke of *Beaufort*.
M. Ashley.
John Colleton, &c.

A Description of the Country.

IT lies about the 31*st* and 32*d* Degree of Northern Latitude, is bounded Eastward by the great *Atlantick* Sea, To the West by a Part of the *Apalachian* Mountains, and to the North and South by the two great *Rivers*, mention'd in the Grant.

In the Maps of *North America* it may be taken Notice of, how well this Country lies for Trade with all our Colonies, and in Regard to every other Prospect, which can make a Situation healthy, profitable, lovely, and inviting; *Florida*, of which it is a Part, receiv'd that Name from its delightful, *florid*, and agreeable Appearance.

It has been commonly observ'd, that gay Descriptions of new Countries raise a Doubt of their Sincerity. Men are apt to think the *Picture* drawn beyond the *Life*, to serve the Interest of the Representer: To shun the Prejudice of this Opinion, whatever shall be said upon the Subject here, is all extracted from our *English Writers*, who are very numerous, and universally agree, that *Carolina*, and especially in its *Southern* Bounds, is the most amiable Country of the Universe; That Nature has not bless'd the World with any Tract, which can be preferable to it, that *Paradise* with all her Virgin Beauties, may be modestly suppos'd at most but equal to its Native Excellencies.

It lies in the same Latitude with *Palestine* Herself, That promis'd *Canaan*, which was pointed out by *God's* own Choice, to bless the Labours of a favourite People; It abounds with Rivers, Woods, and Meadows. Its gentle Hills are full of Mines,

Lead, *Copper*, *Iron*, and even some of *Silver*; 'Tis beautiful with odoriferous Plants, green all the Year. Pine, Cedar, Cypress, Oak, Elm, Ash, or Walnut, with innumerable other Sorts, both Fruit or Timber Trees grow every where so pleasantly that tho' they meet at Top, and shade the Traveller, they are, at the same Time, so distant in their Bodies, and so free from Underwood, or Bushes, that the Deer, and other Game, which feed in Droves along these Forests, may be often seen near half a Mile between them.

The Air is healthy, and the Soil in general fruitful, and of infinite Variety; *Vines*, naturally flourishing upon the Hills, bear Grapes in most luxuriant Plenty. They have every Growth, which we possess in *England*, and almost every Thing that *England* wants besides. The *Orange*, and the *Limon* thrive in the same common Orchard with the *Apple*, and the *Pear-Tree*. Plumbs, Peaches, Apricots, and Nectarins, bear from Stones in three Years growing. The Planters raise large Orchards of these Fruits to feed their Hogs with; Wheat Ears have been measur'd there seven Inches long, and they have Barly, Beans, Pease, Rice, and all our Grains, Roots, Herbs, and Flowers not to speak of Numbers of their own, which we can find no Names for; Beef, Mutton, Pork, Tame Poultry, Wild Fowl, Sea and River Fish, are all there Plentiful, and most at lower Rates, than in the cheapest Parts of *Wales*, or *Scotland*.

The many Lakes, and pretty Rivulets throughout the Province, breed a Multitude of Geese, and other Water Fowl; The Air is found so temperate, and the Seasons of the Year so very regular, that there is no Excess of *Heat*, or *Cold*, nor any sudden Alterations in the Weather; The River Banks are cover'd with a strange Variety of lovely Trees, which being always green, present a thousand Landskips to the Eye, so fine, and so diversified, that the Sight is entirely charm'd with them; the Ground lies sloping towards the Rivers, but, at a Distance rises gradually, and intermingles like Hills of Wood with fruitful Plains, all cover'd over with wild Flowers, and not a Tree to interrupt the Prospect: Nor is this tempting Country yet inhabited, except those Parts in the Possession of the *English*, unless by here and there a Tribe of wandering *Indians*, wild and ignorant, all artless, and uncultivated, as the Soil, which fosters them.

Of the Form propos'd in Settling.

OUR Meaning here relates to what immediate Measures will be taken, for Security against the Insults of the Natives, during the Infancy of our Affairs; To which End we shall not

satisfie ourselves with building here and there a *Fort*, the fatal Practice of *America*, but so dispose the Habitations, and Divisions of the Land, that not alone our Houses, but whatever we possess, will be enclos'd by *Military Lines*, impregnable against the *Savages*, and which will make our whole Plantation one continued Fortress.

It need not be suppos'd, that all the Lands will thus be fortified *at once*; The first Lines drawn will be in just Proportion to the Number of Men they enclose; As the Inhabitants encrease, New Lines will be made to enclose them also, so that all the People will be always safe within a well defended Lime of Circumvallation.

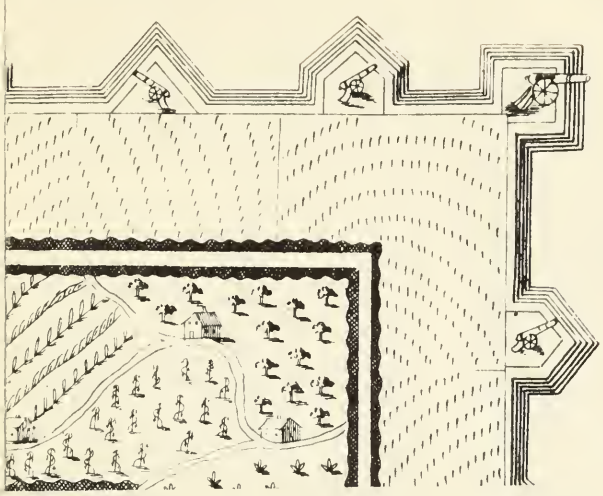
The Reader will allow, it is not necessary, that these Retrenchments be of Bulk, like those of *Europe;* small Defence is *strong* against the poor unskilful Natives of *America;* They have accomplish'd all their bloody Mischiefs by Surprizes, and Incursions, but durst never think of a Defyance to Artillery.

The Massacres, and frequent Ruins, which have fallen upon some *English* Settlements for want of this one Caution, have sufficiently instructed us, that *Strength*, producing Safety, is the Point, which shou'd be chiefly weigh'd in such Attempts as these; *Solon* had Reason when he said to *Crœfus*, looking on his Treasure—, *You are rich indeed, and so far you are mighty; But if any Man shou'd come with sharper steel then Yours, how easily will he be made the Master of your Gold?*

At the Arrival therefore of the first Men carried over, proper Officers shall mark, and cause to be entrench'd a Square of Land, in just Proportion to their Number; On the Outsides of this Square, within the little Bastions, or Redoubts of the Entrenchment, they raise light Timber Dwellings, cutting down the Trees, which every where encompass them: The Officers are quartered with the Men, whom they command, and the Governour in Chief is plac'd exactly in the Center: By these means the labouring People (being so dispos'd, as to be always watchful of an Enemies Approach) are themselves within the Eye of those, set over them, and *All together* under the Inspection of their Principal.

The Redoubts may be near enough to defend Each other with Musquets, but Field Pieces, and Patarero's will be planted upon Each, kept charged with Cartridge shot, and Pieces of old Iron; Within these Redoubts are the Common Dwellings of the Men who must defend them; Between them runs a Palisadoe'd Bank, and a Ditch, which will be Scour'd by the Artillery. One Man in Each Redoubt kept Night and Day, upon the Guard, will give alarm upon Occasion to the others at their Work. So they cultivate their Lands, Secure their Cattle, and follow their

is tricts,
l Azilia



A Plan representing the Form of Setling the Districts,
or County Divisions in the Margravate of Azilia

Business with great Ease, and Safety. Exactly in the Centre of the inmost Square will be a *Fort*, defended by large Cannon, pointing Every way, and capable of making strong Resistance, in Case some Quarter of the outward Lines shou'd chance to be surpriz'd, by any sudden Accident, which yet with tolerable Care wou'd be impracticable.

The Nature of this Scheme, when weigh'd against the Ignorance, and wildness of the Natives, will shew, that Men thus settled, may at once defend, and cultivate a Territory, with the utmost Satisfaction, and Security, even in the *Heart* of an *Indian* Country, Then how much rather in a Place considerably distant from the Savage Settlements.

As the Numbers shall encrease, and they go on to clear more Space of Land, they are to regulate their Settlements with like Regard to Safety, and Improvement: And indeed the Difference, as to Time, and Labour, is not near so great as may be thought, betwixt enclosing Land this Way, and following the dangerous common Method; But what is here already said will serve the End, for which it has been written, which was only to give a general Notion of the Care and Caution we propose to act with.

It will not, however, be amiss, as you have seen the first rude Form of our *Azilia* in her Infancy, to view her also in the Fulness of her Beauty; And to that End we have affix'd a Plan of one whole *District*, clear'd, planted, and inhabited; For as the Country thrives, all future Townships will be form'd according to this Plan, and measur'd out as near Each other as the Rivers, Hills, and other natural Impediments will any way admit of.

But least it shou'd be fear'd from the Correctness of this Model. that twill be a Work of too great Difficulty, and require a mighty Length of Time to bring it to perfection, we think it proper to declare, that *Purchasers* will not be obliged to wait this Form of Settlement, but are entitled to the immediate Profits of peculiar Lands, assign'd them, from the very first Arrival of the Colony; which Lands, being set apart for that Purpose, will be strongly enclos'd, and defended by the Lines, or Entrenchments before mention'd.

Neither wou'd we have it thought a Labour so tedious, as 'tis generally fancy'd, to establish in this manner a Colony, which may become not only an *Advantage*, but a *Glory* to the Nation: We have Prospects before us most attractive, and unprecedented, in the three tempting Points *Wealth*, *Safety*, and *Liberty:* Benefits, like these, can never fail of drawing Numbers of Inhabitants from Every Corner: And, Men once got together, 'tis as easy to dispose them regularly, and with due Regard to Order, Beauty, and the Comforts of Society, as to leave them to the Folly of

fixing at Random, and destroying their Interest by indulging their Humour; So that we have more than ordinary Cause to expect, that in a very short Time, we shall be able to present the solid *Life its self*, as now we give the *Shadow* only, in the following Explanation.

You must suppose a level, dry, and fruitful Tract of Land, in some fine Plain or Valley, containing a just Square of twenty Miles Each Way, or two hundred and fifty six thousand Acres, laid out, and settled, in the Form, presented, in the Cut annex'd.

The District is defended by sufficient Numbers of Men, who, dwelling in the fortified Angles of the Line, will be employ'd in cultivating Lands, which are kept in Hand for the particular advantage of the *Margrave;* These Lands surround the District just within the Lines, and every where contain in Breadth one Mile exactly.

The Men, thus employ'd, are such, as shall be hir'd in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, well disciplin'd, arm'd, and carried over, on Condition to serve faithfully for such a Term of Years, as they before shall agree to; And, that no Man may be wretched in so happy a Country, at the Expiration of those Peoples Time; besides some other considerable, and unusual Incouragements, all such, among them, who shall marry in the Country, or come married thither, shall have a Right of laying claim to a certain Fee-Farm, or Quantity of Land, ready clear'd, together with a House built upon it, and a stock sufficient to improve, and cultivate it, which they shall enjoy, Rent, and Tax free, during Life, as a Reward for their Services; By which Means two very great Advantages must naturally follow; Poor labouring Men, so secur'd of a fix'd future Settlement, will be thereby induc'd to go thither more willingly; and act, when there, with double Dilligence, and Duty; And when their Time expires, possessing just Land enough to pass their Lives at Ease, and bring their Children up honestly, the Families they leave will prove a constant Seminary of sober Servants, of Both Sexes, for the Gentry of the Colony; whereby they will be under no necessity to use the Dangerous Help of *Blackamoors*, or *Indians;* The Lands set apart for this Purpose, are two Miles in Breadth, quite round the District, and lie next within the *Margraves* own reserv'd Lands abovemention'd.

The 116 Squares, Each of which has a House in the Middle, are, Every one a Mile on Each Side, or 640 Acres in a Square, bating only for the High Ways, which divide them; These are the Estates, belonging to the Gentry *of the District*, who, being so confin'd to an Equality in *Land*, will be profitably Emulous of out doing Each other in *Improvement*, since that is the only

way, left them to grow richer than their Neighbours; And when the Margravate is once become strong enough to form many Districts, the Estates will be all given gratis, together with many other benefits, to honest and qualified Gentlemen in *Great Britain*, or elsewhere, who having Numerous and well-educated Families, possess but little Fortunes, other than their Industry; and will therefore be chosen to enjoy these Advantages, which they shall pay no Rent, or other Consideration for; and yet the Undertaking will not fail to find its own Account in their Prosperity.

The four great Parks, or rather Forrests, are Each four Miles Square, that is 16 Miles round each Forrest, in which are propagated Herds of Cattle of all Sorts by themselves, not alone to serve the uses of the District, they belong to, but to store such *New Ones*, as may from Time to Time be measur'd out, on Affluence of People.

The Middle hollow Square, which is full of Streets crossing each other, is the *City*, And the Bank, which runs about it, on the out-side surrounded with Trees, is a large void Space, which will be useful for a thousand Purposes, and, among the rest, as being airy, and affording a fine Prospect of the Town in Drawing near it.

In the Center of the City stands the *Margraves House*, which is to be his constant Residence, or the Residence of the Governour, and contains all sorts of publick Edifices for Dispatch of Business; and this again is separated from the City by a Space, like that, which, as above, divides the Town from the Country.

Of some Designs in View for making Profit.

OUR Prospects in this Point, are more entensive than we think it needful to discover; It were a Shame shou'd we confine the Fruitfulness of such a rich and lovely Country to some single Product, which *Example* first makes common, and the *being common* robs of Benefit. Thus *Sugar* in *Barbadoes*, *Rice* in *Carolina*, and *Tobacco* in *Virginia*, take up all the Labours of their People, overstock the Markets, stifle the Demand, and make their Industry their Ruin, merely through a Want of due Reflection on Diversity of other Products, equally adapted to their Soil and Climate.

Coffee, *Tea*, *Figs*, *Raisins*, *Currants*, *Almonds*, *Olives*, *Silk*, *Wine*, *Cochineal*, and great Variety of still more rich Commodities, which we are forc'd to buy at mighty Rates from Countries, lying in the very Latitude of our Plantations: All these we certainly shall Propagate, tho' it may Perhaps be said, that they are yet but distant Views; mean while, we shall confine our first

Endeavours to such easy Benefits, as will (without the smallest waiting for the Growth of Plants) be offer'd to our Industry, from the *spontaneous* Wealth, which overruns the Country.

The Reader may assure himself, our Undertakings upon all Occasions, will be the plainest, and most ready Roads to Profit; not form'd from doubtful, and untried Conceits, nor hamper'd by a Train of Difficulties; none are more apt than we to disregard Chimerical, or rash Designs; but 'tis the Business of Men's Judgment to divide Things *plain* from Things *unlikely*.

We cannot think it proper to be too particular upon this Subject, nor will it, we suppose, be expected from us: One Example, however, we will give, because we wou'd present a Proof, that much is *practicable* there, which has not yet been *put in Practice;* we shall Pitch on *Pot-ash*, a Commodity of great Consumption in the Trades of *Dying*, *Glass-making*, *Soap-boiling* and some others; not that this is the only present Prospect which we build on, but as 'tis necessary we shou'd particularize *one* Benefit, that others may be credible.

And here it will not be amiss, if we describe what *Pot-ash* is, and how they make it; since, 'tis likely, some may have attempted it already, in the Forests of *America*, and miscarried, by depending upon ignorant Undertakers.

It is not very *properly* indeed call'd *Pot-ash*, not being any kind of *Ashes*, but the fix'd, and vegetable *Salt of Ashes*, which, if mix'd with Water, melts away, and turns to *Lye;* For this Reason 'tis preferr'd to all other Lixiviate Ashes, Foreign, or Domestick, which, not being perfect *Salts*, but Ashes of Bean-Straw, and other Vegetables, made stronger by the Help of Lye, bear no Proportion, as to Price, with *Pot-ash itself*, which is, as we said before, the pure *Salt* without any of the *Ashes*.

To procure this Salt, in *Russia*, and the Countries famous for it, they burn great Quantities of *Oak*, *Firr*, *Birch*, and other Woods, cut down, when flourishing, and full of Sap; The Ashes they throw into Boilers, or huge Caldrons full of Water, and extract a thick, sharp Lye by boiling; They let this Lye grow clear by settling, and then draw it off, and throw away the Ashes left at Bottom.

This Lye, so clarified, they boil again, and as the Watry Part evaporates apace, they supply the Waste thro' a small Pipe, from another Vessel of the same Sort of Lye, set higher than the Boiler; At last, by a continued Evaporation, the whole Vessel becomes full of a thick brownish Salt, which being dug out in Lumps, and afterwards calcin'd, compleats the Work, and gives a Colour to the *Pot-ash*, like a whitish Blue, in which Condition it is barrell'd up, and fit for Merchants.

Nothing can be plainer, or more easy than this Practice in our

intended Settlement; As to the *Boilers*, which have ever been the great, and terrifying Expence and Encumbrance of this Work, we shall extreamly lessen, and reduce that Charge almost to nothing, by some *new Methods*, being an experienc'd Invention, wherein we use neither Copper, Lead, Iron, nor other Mineral whatsoever, and (that excepted) there is no Material necessary, but *Wood only;* For Wood cut down, and burnt upon the Ground, affords the *Ashes;* The Rivers every where abounding in that Country furnish *Water;* Ashes, and Water boil'd together, yield the *Lye;* The Lye evaporated, leaves behind the *Salt*, and that very Salt calcin'd, becomes the *Pot-ash*, and it is pack'd, and sent away in Barrels, made and hoop'd there also.

From due Consideration of these Circumstances, it appears, that this must be a rich, and gainful Undertaking in a Country where the greatest Quantities of Timber, and the finest in the World, cost nothing but the Pains of cutting down, and burning, on the Banks of Navigable Rivers; where the enlivening influence of the Sun prepares the Trees much better for this Practice, than in colder Climates, and where stubbing up the Woods, which cover all the Settlement, will give a sure, and double Benefit; for first they yield this valuable Traffick *Potash*, and afterwards leave *clear* the Ground, they grow on, for producing yearly Crops of such Commodities, as are most profitable, and fittest for the Country.

Thus, having faintly touch'd the outward Lines, and given some Prospect of our Purpose, we proceed to the Conditions, upon which we will admit of Purchasers.

The PROPOSAL.

NOTE that, for the Purchasers Security, and effectually making good their Claims, as well to the Land, which they shall buy, as to all the other Benefits propos'd in the following Articles, The whole Country, and its Improvements in all Times to come, is settled as a Mortgage and made liable in manner, as here under recited, in which such unusual, and equitable Regard has been had, for avoiding all Charge, or Delay, in Respect to the Distance of Countries, and the Difficulties, which might thence be suspected to arise, in obtaining Satisfaction by the ordinary Course of the Laws, that nothing of *Form*, or *Expence* will be necessary; but, on the first Breach of Covenant, an Easy and immediate Possession may be taken of the forfeited Province, and for ever maintain'd against all kind of Pleas or Pretences for the use of the *Purchasers*. And, that perpetual and unobjectionable Testimony may remain, for the more absolute securing the

Rights of the Purchasers, the following Deed, together with the Articles themselves, stands enrolled in the High Court of Chancery.

TO All to whom these Presents shall come I *Robert Mountgomry* of *Skelmorley* in the *Sheridom* of *Aire* in *North-Britain* Baronet send Greeting. Whereas His Excellency the Lord *Carteret Palatine*, and the Rest of the true and absolute Lords Proprietors of the Province of *Carolina* in *America* have by their Grant, bearing Date the Nineteenth Day of *June* last, bargain'd, sold, alien'd, releas'd, enfeoff'd, and confirm'd to Me the abovemention'd Sir *Robert Mountgomry*, my Heirs, and Assigns, all that Tract of Land in their said Province, which lies between the Rivers *Allatamaha* and *Savanna*, and erected the said Tract into a distinct Province, wtih proper and independant Jurisdictions, under the Name and Title of the *Margravate* of *Azilia*, to be held of them the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina* by me, my Heirs and Assigns for ever; and whereas for better carrying on my design of transporting People and making a new Settlement in the said *Margravate;* I have made and caused to be publish'd the Proposals hereunto annex'd, Now Therefore for securing the Advantages proposed in the said Articles to all, who shall or may Subscribe any Sum or Sums of Money for the Purchase of Lands and Profits in the *Margravate* of *Azilia* aforesaid, and shall on their parts, make good the Payments and Conditions mention'd in the Articles, I the abovenamed Sir *Robert Mountgomry* do, by these Presents to be enroll'd in the High Court of Chancery, in perpetual Proof and Testimony of the Security hereby design'd to be convey'd, engage, bind, mortgage, assign, and firmly make subject the said Grant, Lands, and benefits for making Good the Uses in the said Articles expres'd in Manner, as at large herein under describ'd: And I do hereby declare and consent, that the Instruments sign'd by my Hand writing as recited in the seventh Article, shall be deem'd and they are by virtue of these Presents declar'd to be, a firm, and sufficient Proof of Title to the respective Claim therein mention'd to be convey'd by and upon the Security by these Presents provided; And I do hereby authorize and appoint *David Kennedy*, Esq; in my Absence to fill up, and deliver the said Instruments with all effectual Authority, and irrevocable Right of Representation, which by Letter of Attorney, or by any other Form or Means whatever, can or might be deputed to Him, And I declare myself obliged, as to the sufficiency of the Writings delivered by such Act of the said *David Kennedy*, Esq; as firmly as if I had in Person fill'd and deliver'd the said Writings; And in Case that I Sir *Robert Mountgomry*, or my Heirs, or Assigns, or any claiming Right, or exercising Power by, from, or under me, shall at any

time hereafter refuse to submit to the said annex'd Articles or to any of them, or shall under any unjust Pretence whatsoever forbear the Cultivation of the Purchasers Lands, or consign the annual Products, arising therefrom, or any Part of the same, to any other Person, or Persons, than to the Factor, or Factors, who shall be appointed by the Purchasers, or to Persons approved by them, or shall refuse, or deny admission, Residence, or ocular satisfaction on the Spot to any Agent, whom the Purchasers may at any time think fit to send over for that Purpose; In any of these Cases the Purchasers shall, by virtue of these Presents (any Form of Law, Usage, Custom, or Pretence to the contrary notwithstanding) have a warrantable, and incontrovertible Right, and Authority, to procure, and obtain present Justice to themselves in Manner following, That is to say—Upon such Breach of Covenant the said Purchasers shall, or may meet upon the Summons of the Party injur'd, or of any other Person interested, and by a Majority of the Voices present elect a Committee of Three, which Committee shall draw up a State of the Case they complain of, And present it to me, or my Heirs or Assigns, or to any Agent acting for me, or them, or any of them in *London*, or elsewhere, and if within ten Days after such Presentation they receive not due Satisfaction from such Person, or Agent, they shall leave Notice in Writing at the Place of his dwelling, or publish in the Gazette, or other Authentick News Letter, that on some day therein to be named, they design to lay the State of their Case before the *Kings Attorney General*, and *Solicitor General* in *London* for the Time being, in order to have their Opinion, whether the Fact they complain of be, or be not not a Breach of any Part of the Articles hereunto annex'd, that so the said Person, or Agent may attend if he shall have any thing to offer, in Defence of the Matter complain'd of, And if upon the Question, the *Attorney* and *Solicitor General* shall joyn in Opinion and give it under their Hands, that the Cause of Complaint does plainly appear in their Judgements to be a Breach of the Articles subscribed to, and such Person, as above described, or some Agent acting for Him, shall not forthwith make due satisfaction, such Forbearance to do Justice in the Case, shall after Thirty Days next following the date of the said written Opinion, become an absolute Forfeiture of the Grant, and from thenceforth all Lands, Prerogatives, Priviledges, Powers, and Benefits, whatsoever held, claim'd, or enjoy'd by virtue of the said Grant, shall be taken Possession of for the sole future Use of the Body of Purchasers, and shall be carry'd on to their general Advantage, and according to their Orders, and Direction, by any Person, or Persons whom they shall chuse by a Majority of their Voices, and send over to that Purpose: And that no possible Let, or Impediment, on my

Part, or the Part of my Heirs, or Assigns, may in any sort incommode, or prevent the most strict and immediate Performance of this Covenant, I the said Sir *Robert* do hereby renounce for myself, and all claiming from me, all Pleas, Prerogatives, Priviledges and Pretences whatsoever, which I, or they, may by the said Grant, or by any Form, Custom, or Mode of Proceeding at Law be possess'd of, or entitled to; And I do consent and declare, that when the written Opinion abovemention'd of the *Attorney*, and *Solicitor General* in *London*, shall be produc'd to the Lords Proprietors of *Carolina*, and sent over to their Deputies at *Charles Town*, and be enter'd in their Journal, It shall stand as a determinate Judgment recorded against me, or them, after which no Appeal shall be lawful, and possession shall be given immediately, that is to say, no other Process shall be needful than twenty Days Notice from the Governour, and Council at *Charles-Town* abovemention'd: From which Time for ever, if full Satisfaction be not made within the said twenty Days, as well in the Matter complain'd of, as by Payment of all Costs, and Damages sustained by the Complainants, the Purchasers shall in Right of themselves, and by Virtue of these Presents, possess, occupy, and enjoy all Manner of Authorities, Territories, and Advantages of what kind soever, arising from the Grant abovesaid, and I the said Sir *Robert Mountgomry*, my Heirs, and Assigns shall effectually stand excluded, both in Law, and in Equity, to all Intents and Purposes, as if the said Grant had never been made. In Witness whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand and seal this Fifteenth Day of *July*, in the Third Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *George*, by the Grace of God, of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, *&c. Annoq; Domini*, 1717.

R. Mountgomry.

Art. I. The first fifty thousand Acres, which shall be run out, settled, or planted, shall be always kept, as a distinct Division, separate from the rest of the Margravate, and shall all be clear'd, and improv'd before any other Settlement is made, or suffer'd in any Part of the Margravate, and a Right will be sold by Virtue of the propos'd Subscription, to all the Profits arising from twenty five Thousand of those Acres, when the fifty Thousand shall be clear'd; and in the mean time to half the yearly Amount of the whole Profit which shall be made by the Colony, which Sale will be made in Acres, (more or less at the Discretion of the Buyer, only nothing less than five Acres) at the Rate of forty Shillings *per* Acre: And tho' the whole shou'd not be purchased, yet the Books shall, notwithstanding, be shut up forthwith, that so no Time may be lost, and the then Number of Purchasers, be they never so few, shall compose the Body, and enjoy their

Proportional Benefits, as fully as if the whole had been compleated.

Art. II. The Land thus bought, is not to be cultivated at the Charge of the Buyer; but the yearly Profits of it shall for ever be brought Home to the Purchasers, their Heirs or Assigns, in the Ships of the Margravate, and paid them in regular Dividends.

Art III. The Purchase Money, that is to say, the forty Shillings *per* Acre abovemention'd, shall be paid one half down, and the other half, not till the first Return of the Shipping, and after a Dividend of Profit made among the Purchasers, by Sale of such Goods or Products as the said Ships bring over with them.

Art. IV. This first Return, and the whole yearly Produce for ever, of the first settled fifty Thousand Acres, or so much thereof, as shall at any time be clear'd, and cultivated, shall always come consign'd to the Purchasers Factors, for the Time being, or their Agents, or to Persons of their Appointment or Approbation, and shall be sold by them, or by Brokers of their chusing, which Brokers shall account with them the said Factors or their Agents, for the Purchasers Half the Profits, and with the Agents of Sir *Robert Mountgomry*, or his Assigns, for the other Half. Provided always that a Preference be given to any Buyer nam'd by the said Sir *Robert*, or his Assigns, or his or their Agents, on Condition however that such Buyer shall give a better Price than has before been offer'd.

Art. V. That on the Death, or Surrender of the Factors, or upon Dislike of their Management, it is always to be understood that a Majority of the Purchasers shall have Power to chuse new ones in their Places.

Art. VI. That on closing the Book of Subscription, due Notice shall be given, and the Purchasers shall meet, and chuse by Majority of Voices, (every twenty Acres entitling to a Vote) such Person or Persons as they think best qualified to act, as their Factors, in the Trust abovemention'd, and such Factor, or Factors, shall in Consideration of their Trouble, be allow'd over and above their necessary Charges in the Management, such Gratuity as the Purchasers think reasonable out of the respective Dividends, which they from Time to Time, shall pay to the said Purchasers.

Art. VII. On Payment of the first Half the Purchase Money, the Purchasers shall severally receive an Instrument in Form following.

This witnesseth, that A. B. did on this———Day of——— 1717. Subscribe the Sum of———Pounds, towards Establishment of a new Colony, in the Margravate of *Azilia* in *Carolina*, and paid down one half of the said Sum; in Consideration where-

of, and of the remaining Half to be paid, as by the Articles provided, the said A. B. is for himself, his Heirs, or Assigns admitted as Proprietor of———Acres of Land in the said Margravate. The whole Rents, Products, Profits, and Advantages of which———Acres are absolutely vested in the said A. B. his Heirs, or Assigns for ever, as they shall arise, and accrue yearly, by virtue of a General Management, as by the Articles provided, at the Cost of Sir *Robert Mountgomry*, or his Assigns, without Charge, or Trouble to the said Proprietor under the Penalties express'd and covenanted in a Deed to that End executed and enroll'd in the High Court of Chancery, for perpetual Proof of the Security therein provided. In Witness whereof, I the abovemention'd Sir *Robert Mountgomry*, have hereunto set my Hand, the Day and Year first above-written.

R. Mountgomry.

Art. VIII. And for Encouragement of those, who shall considerably Interest themselves in this Affair. Whoever shall Subscribe the Sum of Five Hundred Pounds, for Purchase of two hundred and fifty Acres, as abovemention'd, shall, over and above his yearly Profits from the said two Hundred and Fifty Acres, be entitled to one of the Estates of a Mile Square, or 640 Acres, in the first District, which shall be settled, as in the Cut describ'd. And shall for himself, his Heirs, and Assigns for ever, be put in Possession of the said Estate of 640 Acres, together with a House built on it, and the Ground ready clear'd to his Hand, without any Charge to him, or his Assigns, as soon as such first District shall be measur'd out, and settled; The said Estate to be cultivated at his Pleasure and for his Profit, by Himself, or his Agents, on Condition only, that if he shall not himself think fit to go over, and inhabit it, the Person he sends over in his Stead, shall be no ordinary Overseer, but a Gentleman well qualified, of a liberal Education, who is married, and carries with him a genteel well bred Family.

Art. IX. Over and above the Regard, which may naturally be expected to the Recommendation of Purchasers, in Disposal of Offices, and furnishing the various Supplies from Time to Time needful, it will be fit that some particular Encouragement be given to such, as shall be early Promoters of the Undertaking; because in this, as in all great Affairs, Expedition is the main Life of Business, and the necessary Preparations will require so much Time, that if the Subscription is suddenly compleated, it will turn to the extraordinary Benefit of the Design, and all concern'd in it; It is therefore hereby made an Article, that the first hundred Subscribers (to be known by the Numbers on their Instruments) whether they Subscribe more, or less, shall have, and be firmly entitled in all Dividends, to an additional Share of Profit,

after the Rate of one Acre over and above every ten Acres they buy, and so for more or less in Proportion; to be paid them out of the Undertaker's Part of every Dividend by their own Factors or Agents: As for Instance, a Purchaser of 100 Acres, if his Ticket of Purchase bears any Number from 1 to 100, shall not, at the Dividends, receive in Proportion to the 100 Acres he bought, but as if they were 110 Acres: by Virtue of the 10 Acres additionally annex'd to his Quota by Virtue of this Article. And so it shall be understood of any different Quantity purchas'd, from five Acres upwards.

A more particular Explanation of the Benefits of this Proposal.

'TIS impossible to give a firmer Title, than is hereby made both to the Lands, and their Profits, since the whole Country, with all its Improvements, in all Times to come, is engag'd as a Mortgage, and will be forfeited into the Purchaser's Hands on Non-performance of the Covenants, and as to the Rate of the Purchase, 'tis the cheapest that ever was heard of: For it must be observ'd, that the Forty Shillings *per* Acre is not a Consideration for the *Land only*, to be cultivated afterwards at the Charge of the Buyer, but on the contrary, it is the first, and last Expence, not only of the Land, but its perpetual Profit; so that for what is once laid out, a Man has, every Year, brought Home to his Door, by other People's Care and Charge, and without the least Trouble to Himself, but That of receiving the Money, the Produce and Profit of so many Acres of the finest Land in the World, as he thus pays Forty Shillings a piece for; and this is to continue, not only during his own Life, but to Descend for ever to his Heirs, or those, to whom he shall assign his Interest. And, that the Benefits of this Proposal may as well reach those who are willing to spare but a *little*, as those who shall incline to Subscribe *large Sums*, we have therefore fix'd the lowest Quantity at five Acres; By which Means People who cannot, or who care not to venture much, may become concern'd for only five Pound down, and five Pound more after the first Dividend of Profit, at Return of the Shipping; and this will we hope be of General Advantage, since the Benefit being made diffusive, will reach Numbers who had else been shut out; And with that View we have permitted it against the Opinions of a few: Since a Man who is able to spare but 10 or 20*l.* and does afterwards sell his Interest for two or three hundred, will much more feel the Benefit than one, who being able to subscribe larger Sums, makes a Profit in Equal Proportion.

And here, tho' we utterly disapprove all swelling, and over-rated Computations, it will be some satisfaction to give as rational a Guess, as Things to come admit of, after what proportion Purchasers may calculate their Profit, by the most modest Expectation; for tho' tis impossible exactly to state these Accounts, before they are put to the Trial, yet such Computations as are fairly, and impartially Drawn, are at least so far Useful, as to give some Idea to the Reader, of what he may otherwise perhaps be utterly ignorant in the very Nature and Meaning of.

It will be allow'd without Argument, that Three working Men may be carried over, and maintain'd one whole Year round, for every Hundred Pound in the Stock; And so a purchaser, for every Hundred Pounds, he subscribes, will the first Year be entitled to Half what is gain'd by Three Men's constant Labour the whole Year about. The other Half remaining to the Undertakers, to supply Encrease of People, and the necessary Charges of their Maintenance, and Government.

The Practice of our Colonies all over *America*, has made it undeniable, that the Labour of a Man, for one Year, no otherway employ'd, will clear, at least, four Acres; It must be observ'd, that we do not suppose him to *cultivate* the four Acres, but only to cut, and burn down the *Trees*, which grow there; By this Account such a Purchaser's first Year's Claim will be the Profit of Six Acres (Half Three Mens Labour for That Year) And his Second Year advancing in Proportion, after Allowance for all Kinds of Hazard, there arises a great, and uncommon Advantage. For not to urge that the Designs, we shall employ our Men in. are such, as may be fairly expected to produce far greater Profit. than the overstock'd and beaten Practices, in Use at Present, we will take as our Example, the most common, known Product of *South Carolina* Herself, and That is *Rice;* This is, at least, one Crop with another worth Six Pounds *per* Acre; we will state it, however, but at four Pounds, and out of that allow Deduction of one Pound for Freight Home, and Duty; so the Purchaser receives but Three Pounds neat from each Acre.

Thus, all the Land clear'd, a Man, whose Purchase Money was a Hundred Pounds, for fifty Acres, must receive a Hundred, and fifty Pound *per Annum* for ever, as the Profit of it; but we are not desirous of laying more weight than the Reader, on the Exactness of such Calculations; A Thousand Accidents, not easily foreseen, will still vary these Events, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the Worse; we leave People's Expectation to be determin'd by their Reason, tho' even Men of Diffidence will we think be asham'd to disallow a Computation so low, as *Three Pounds per Acre*, from such Land in such a Climate.

But it may be objected that we compute on a Supposition of

all the Land clear'd, and improv'd by Cultivation, whereas it may be some Years before the Woods, which over-run it, are Fell'd, and the Earth fit for Sowing; 'Tis true, to clear all the Land will require some Time, But while That is doing we make all our *Potash* beforemention'd, of the waste Wood cut down, to clear the Land, and the Profit from an Acre that way, will be so much greater, than from any yearly Crop, that Purchasers may reasonably expect as large gain the very first Year, from a few Acres only, as afterwards from all their Land, clear'd and cultivated.

A word or two, to explain this Assertion, which may look like a Mystery, and we shall draw to a Conclusion.

When Workmen have nothing to do, but fell Great Trees cross one another, and as soon as dry, set Fire to them, that they may be burnt to Ashes, tis demonstrable beyond all Dispute, that Three Men so employ'd, in Twelve Months constant Work, must cut down more Wood than can grow on Twelve Acres.

If therefore we state it but at twelve Acres, it is a Rate of computing which can admit of no reasonable Contradiction; And to shew how much *Potash* this will yield, it is plain from Experience and any Reader who doubts, may examine it at his Pleasure for the Charge of a Faggot, That the Weight of any good Wood Ashes amounts to about a Sixteenth of the Wood, they are burnt from; and the Weight of the *Potash*, which will be produc'd from those Ashes, is from a Sixth, to an Eighth of the Weight of the Ashes; But allowing at large, for loss, waste, and accidents, call the Sixteenth a *Twentieth*, and the Sixth a *Tenth* only.

For Quantity of Wood, say there grows on an Acre, so cover'd with huge Timber Trees, but four Hundred Tun; we have often much more (Bark, Timber, and Brushwood) on an Acre in *England;* It is therefore an unexceptionable Computation for *America*, where the date of the Woods, instead of *Years*, must be reckoned by Ages. Then the Wood of an Acre yields two Tun of *Potash*, and the whole Year's Labour of Three Men employ'd in cutting down, and burning on Twelve Acres, and boiling and managing the Ashes, will produce 24 Tun of *Potash*, which being a Commodity of Universal Consumption, cannot easily over stock Markets, at least not from far greater Quantities of Wood Land, than we are here talking of.

The general Price of such *Potash*, being the Richest, and Best, is from Forty to Sixty Pounds Sterling *per Tun*, but we will reduce it to Twenty, for Arguments Sake, tho' such a Fall is improbable for such a Commodity, (Some of our *own English Ashes*, which have not a 4*th* Part good *Potash*, yielding that Price or more) The 24 Tun will then sell for Four Hundred and Eighty Pounds, If out of this Sum we allow for payment of

Freight, and Custom House Duties, *&c.* at the most extravagant Reckoning, we may deduct on that Score One Hundred and Eighty pounds, and then out of the remaining Three Hundred, *One Hundred and fifty Pounds* will be due to the Purchaser in *England*, as the first Year's clear *Profit* of his *Hundred Pound Venture*, and That Profit will be every Year growing greater, and greater.

We repeat here once again, that we wou'd not impose the punctual Exactness of such Calculations, as a Matter of Infallibility; The utmost Men can do in these Cases, is fairly to lay down Probabilities, and That we have done undeniably, notwithstanding the Giant-like size of the Benefit, and we shou'd perhaps far more Suprize, if we varied the Subject, and computed on some other of our Intentions: A man wou'd make but a very indifferent Use of his Caution, who shou'd neglect an uncommon Advantage, without some better Reason against it, than that the Prospect of Profit was *too Great to be credited;* But be that as it will, Here is Room enough for Profit, let Men reduce it, as they please, nor indeed is Profit, how Great soever, the only Motive to Men of Noble Minds; There is in an Attempt of this Nature, something *more* to recommend it, to all those, who take a Pleasure in things publick Spirited, and Useful to Posterity.

If then what we *have said* is not sufficient Encouragement, whatever we *can say*, will be said to no Purpose, so we only shall add our most earnest Entreaty, that every Reader would narrowly *scan* both the Facts, and the Reasonings here offer'd, and let it be done with the sharpest Attention, and Severity of his Judgment; for we are justly convinc'd, that They, who examine them most, will most firmly believe them.

POSTSCRIPT.

THO' all, that I think can possibly be expected by a reasonable Reader, has been said in the short Tract foregoing, I find my self advis'd to add a Word, or two by way of Postscript, for Satisfaction of some, who may be apt to object, that *tho' the Lands, which are bought, will be more than an Equivalent for the Money Subcrib'd, when those Lands shall be settled, and planted, yet as they are of no such Value in their present Condition, and as the Subscribers should have all possible Security, that the Settlement shall really be made as propos'd, they may therefore expect, that over and above the Assignment of the Lands, the Money they subscribe, shou'd, instead of being paid into my Hands, be deposited in those of Trustees, for the Uses intended.*

Tho' I cannot but hope, that such kind of Suspicions will never disturb any Person, to whom I am known, yet I thought i but reasonable to *State* the Objection, and *Answer* it, for the Sakes of such Readers, who, being equally Strangers to my Person, and Character, may justly enough, entertain the Distrusts, which are common, and allowable in Matters of Money, and Bargainings.

It will be granted, that it signifies little into whose Hands the Money is paid, if it is but apply'd to the Purpose intended; and as I neither expect, nor Desire the Subscription of any, but such, who, by weighing the Design, are fully convinc'd, that it is *well founded*, and *profitable*, so it follows, as a necessary Consequence, that *all such* must think their Money best placed in his Hands, whose Profit, Honour, and Success must depend upon That of the Undertaking, and who may therefore be naturally suppos'd more careful, and diiligent than others wou'd be, in the Application of the Money, *because always most interested in the Effect of that Application.*

This Reason is so good, that it might alone be sufficient, if there was not another as considerable, which arises from the following Reflection.

Where Trustees are to act in Matters of Care, Form, or Equity, it must be confess'd, they are not only useful, but necessary; But when they are trusted, as in our Case they would be, with a Deposite of Money, and a Power to see it apply'd to a Purpose, in which they are no otherwise concern'd, than as Adventurers among others, (to say nothing of the Impossibility to chuse such, as would be equally agreeable to all) the Temptations are many, and but too well known, which may make it their Interest to find means of Cavil under plausible Pretences for delaying the Business, and Detainment of the Money, as long as the Managers shall see it convenient for their private Advantages.

A wise Man will therefore very easily discern, and approve of my Reasons for not dividing the Power of the *Money*, from the Power of the *Management*, since on this only Rock might be split a more promising Adventure, than was ever undertaken.

If I did not believe, that every Body's Experience can furnish him with Instances enough, in the daily Destructions of well laid Designs, through the idle Disputes, and Disagreements of those, who are carrying them on, it were easy to illustrate the Fact by a thousand Examples.

But, as none, I presume, will deny a known Truth, I will Instance but *One*, which is the fitter for my Purpose, because it is taken, not only from a Parallel Case, but was acted in the very next Country to that, which is the Scene of our Settlement.

The first Attempts, which were made for the settling an *En-*

glish Plantation in *Virginia*, were carried on by the private Subscriptions of Gentlemen and others, who thought it their Interest by Way of *Security*, to entrust the Disposal of their Money, to certain Men of the best Publick Credit among them, who were chosen Trustees, and transacted all Matters at Home in the Name of the Body. Mean while, the Command of their Colonies was committed to such Great, and Brave Men, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* and others, who went over, and settled the Country, with all the Appearance of a promising good Fortune: but just in the Crisis, when their Houses were Built, Lands prepar'd, and nothing was wanting, but the expected Arrival of Ships with the necessary Supplies of Ammunition, and Provision, they were all *Starv'd to Death*, or cut off by the *Indians* with a shocking Barbarity. For the Gentlemen in *England*, while they shou'd have laid out the Money subscrib'd, and sent over the Supplies abovemention'd, were quarreling with one another, who should make most Advantage, by furnishing such Goods, as where wanted, or helping others to do it: In which, and the like kind of Follies, they wasted sometimes two, three, or more Years, till their poor starving Colonies fell a Sacrifice to their Inhumanity and Avarice.

Nor was this Game play'd but once, and then mended; on the Contrary, from the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, to that of King *Charles* the First, they repeated the Extravagance in numberless Trials, and lost six, or seven different Colonies, not to mention the Money, they had so warily ventur'd, into the Bargain, by no other Error, or Miscarriage, than that the Disposal of their *Stock* did not lie in the same Hands, which had the Management of their *Authority*; and this was so visible a Truth, that King *Charles* abovemention'd, as a Punishment of their Indiscretion, depriv'd them of their *Charter*; and ever after that, the Purse, and the Power being join'd, as they ought, *Virginia* throve apace, till it grew the most flourishing, and mighty of all our Plantations in *America*.

This remarkable Instance ought to serve, as a Warning to all, who embark in these noble Designs, not to *run into* Losses by mistaken Endeavours, and ill-guided Cautions to *avoid* them; The Reader may apply the Advice, as he pleases, But we would have none concern'd with us, whose establish'd Opinion of the Nature of this Undertaking does not set him above all mean, and unnecessary Jealousies. *R. Mountgomry.*

The Subscription Book will be open'd at the *Carolina* Coffee-House in *Birchin-Lane* near the *Royal-Exchange*, on *Thursday* the First Day of *August* next, and Attendance will be given frow 9 to 12, and from 3 to 6 Daily.

FINIS.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

COLONY OF GEORGIA,

UNDER

GEN. JAMES OGLETHORPE,

FEBRUARY 1, 1733.

WASHINGTON:
PRINTED BY PETER FORCE.
1835.

ESTABLISHMENT

OF THE

COLONY OF GEORGIA.

Proceedings of the Trustees.

London, July 22, 1732:—On Thursday last, the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, held their first regular meeting. Their Charter was read; as also, a certificate from the Lord Chief Baron of his Majesty's Exchequer, by which it appeared that Rt. Hon. the Ld. Visc. *Percival* had qualified himself as President, and taken the oath for the faithful administration of his trust. Then, the President administered the oath for the faithful administration of their trust, to the several Trustees present.

Sept. 22, 1732.—On Thursday last, the Ld. *Carpenter* sat for the first time, as one of the Trustees for Georgia in America; and after taking the oaths, was chosen President, in the absence of the Ld. Visc. Percival.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote acquainted the Court of Directors of the Bank, with his Majesty's having granted a Charity, for relieving necessitous people, by establishing of the aforesaid Colony: and after shewing the great charity of the undertaking, and the future benefit arising to England, by the strengthening all the American Colonies, and increasing our Trade and Navigation, and raising *raw-silk*, for which upwards of £200,000 a year is paid to Piedmont; he himself gave a very handsome benefaction to the design, and was followed by all the Directors then present.

Some account of the designs of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.

In *America* there are fertile lands sufficient to subsist all the useless Poor in *England*, and distressed Protestants in Europe; yet Thousands starve for want of mere sustenance. The distance makes it difficult to get thither. The same want that renders men useless here, prevents their paying their passage; and if others pay it for 'em, they become servants, or rather slaves for years to those who have defrayed the expense. Therefore, money for passage is necessary, but is not the only want; for if people were set down in America, and the land before them, they must cut down trees, build houses, fortify towns, dig and sow the land before they can get in a harvest; and till then, they must be provided with food, and kept together, that they may be assistant to each other for their natural support and protection.

The Romans esteemed the sending forth of Colonies, among their noblest works; they observed that Rome, as she increased in power and empire, drew together such a conflux of people from all parts that she found herself over-burdened with their number, and the government brought under an incapacity to provide for them, or keep them in order. Necessity, the mother of invention, suggested to them an expedient, which at once gave ease to the capital, and increased the wealth and number of industrious citizens, by lessening the useless and unruly multitude; and by planting them in colonies on the frontiers of their empire, gave a new strength to the whole; and *This* they looked upon to be so considerable a service to the commonwealth, that they created peculiar officers for the establishment of such colonies, and the expence was defrayed out of the public treasury.

From the Charter.—His Majesty having taken into his consideration, the miserable circumstances of many of his own poor subjects, ready to perish for want: as likewise the distresses of many poor foreigners, who would take refuge here from persecution; and having a Princely regard to the great danger the southern frontiers of South Carolina are exposed to, by reason of the small number of white inhabitants there, hath, out of his Fatherly compassion towards his subjects, been graciously pleased to grant a charter for incorporating a number of gentlemen by the name of *The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.* They are impowered to collect benefactions; and lay them out in cloathing, arming, sending over, and support-

ing colonies of the poor, whether subjects on foreigners, in Georgia. And his Majesty farther grants all his lands between the rivers *Savannah and Alatamaha*, which he erects into a Province by the name of GEORGIA, unto the Trustees, in trust for the poor, and for the better support of the Colony. At the desire of the Gentlemen, there are clauses in the Charter, restraining them and their successors from receiving any salary, fee, perquisite, or profit, whatsoever, by or from this undertaking; and also from receiving any grant of lands within the said district, to themselves, or in trust for them. There are farther clauses granting to the Trustees proper powers for establishing and governing the Colony, and liberty of conscience to all who shall settle there.

The Trustees intend to relieve such unfortunate persons as cannot subsist here, and establish them in an orderly manner, so as to form a well regulated town. As far as their fund goes, they will defray the charge of their passage to Georgia; give them necessaries, cattle, land, and subsistence, till such time as they can build their houses and clear some of their land. They rely for success, first on the goodness of Providence, next on the compassionate disposition of the people of England; and, they doubt not, that much will be spared from luxury, and superfluous expenses, by generous tempers, when such an opportunity is offered them by the giving of £20 to provide for a man or woman, or £10 to a child for ever.

In order to prevent the benefaction given to this purpose, from ever being misapplied; and to keep up, as far as human Precaution can, a spirit of Disinterestedness, the Trustees have established the following method: That, each Benefactor may know what he has contributed is safely lodged, and justly accounted for, all money given will be deposited in the Bank of England; and entries made of every benefaction, in a book to be kept for that purpose by the Trustees; or, if concealed, the names of those, by whose hands they sent their money. There are to be annual accounts of all the money received, and how the same has been disposed of, laid before the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or two of them, will be transmitted to every considerable Benefactor.

By such a Colony, many families, who would otherwise starve, will be provided for, and made masters of houses and lands; the people in Great Britain to whom these necessitous families were a burthen, will be relieved; numbers of manufacturers will be

here employed, for supplying them with clothes, working tools, and other necessaries; and by giving refuge to the distressed Saltzburghers, and other persecuted Protestants, the power of Britain, as a reward for its hospitality, will be encreased by the addition of so many religious and industrious subjects.

The Colony of *Georgia* lying about the same latitude with part of *China*, *Persia*, *Palestine*, and the *Madeiras*, it is highly probable that when hereafter it shall be well-peopled and rightly cultivated, ENGLAND may be supplied from thence with raw Silk, Wine, Oil, Dyes, Drugs, and many other materials for manufactures, which she is obliged to purchase from Southern countries. As towns are established and grow populous along the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, they will make such a barrier as will render the southern frontier of the British Colonies on the Continent of America, safe from Indian and other enemies.

All human affairs are so subject to chance, that there in no answering for events; yet from reason and the nature of things, it may be concluded, that the riches and also the number of the inhabitants in *Great Britain* will be increased, by importing at a cheap rate from this new Colony, the materials requisite for carrying on in Britain several manufactures. For our Manufacturers will be encouraged to marry and multiply, when they find themselves in circumstances to provide for their families, which must necessarily be the happy effect of the increase and cheapness of our materials of those Manufactures, which at present we purchase with our money from foreign countries, at dear rates; and also many people will find employment here, on account such farther demands by the people of this Colony, for those manufactures which are made for the produce of our own country; and, as has been justly observed, the people will always abound where there is full employment for them.

CHRISTIANITY will be extended by the execution of this design; since, the good discipline established by the Society, will reform the manners of those miserable objects, who shall be by them subsisted; and the example of a whole Colony, who shall behave in a just, moral, and religious manner, will contribute greatly towards the conversion of the Indians, and taking off the prejudices received from the profligate lives of such who have scarce any thing of Christianity but the name.

The Trustees in their general meetings, will consider of the most prudent methods for effectually establishing a regular Colony; and that it may be done, is demonstrable. Under what difficulties, was *Virginia* planted?—the coast and climate then un-

known; the Indians numerous, and at enmity with the first Planters, who were forced to fetch all provisions from England; yet it is grown a mighty Province, and the Revenue receives £100,000 for duties upon the goods that they send yearly home. Within this 50 years, *Pennsylvania* was as much a forest as *Georgia* in now; and in these few years, by the wise œconomy of William Penn, and those who assisted him, it now gives food to 80,000 inhabitants, and can boast of as fine a City as most in Europe.

This new Colony is more likely to succeed than either of the former were, since Carolina abounds with provisions, the climate is known, and there are men to instruct in the seasons and nature of cultivating the soil. There are but few *Indian* families within 400 miles; and those, in perfect amity with the English:—*Port Royal* (the station of his Majesty's ships) is within 30, and *Charlestown* (a great mart) is within 120 miles. If the Colony is attacked, it may be relieved by sea, from Port Royal, or the Bahamas; and the Militia of South Carolina is ready to support it, by land.

For the continuing the relief which is now given, there will be lands reserved in the Colony; and the benefit arising from them is to go to the carrying on of the trust. So that, at the same time, the money by being laid out preserves the lives of the poor, and makes a comfortable provision for those whose expenses are by it defrayed; their labor in improving their own lands, will make the adjoining reserved lands valuable; and the rents of those reserved lands will be a perpetual fund for the relieving more poor people. So that instead of laying out the money upon lands, with the income thereof to support the poor, this is laying out money upon the poor; and by relieving those who are now unfortunate, raises a fund for the perpetual relief of those who shall be so hereafter.

There is an occasion now offered for every one, to help forward this design; the smallest benefaction will be received, and applied with the utmost care:—every little will do something; and a great number of small benefactions will amount to a sum capable of doing a great deal of good.

If any person, moved with the calamities of the unfortunate, shall be inclined to contribute towards their relief, they are desired to pay their benefactions into the Bank of England, on account of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America; or else, to any of the Trustees, who are, &c.

Arrival of First Colonists, at Charleston, South Carolina, 13 January, 1733.

Charlestown, Jany. 20.—On Saturday night 13th of January, 1733, came to anchor off our bar, a ship with about 120 people, for settling the new Colony of Georgia, in which was *James Oglethorpe, Esqr;* who came ashore that night, and was extremely well received by his Excellency, our Governor. The next morning, he went on board; and the ship sailed for Port Royal:—and, we hear, there are two more ships with people (which will make the number 500) expected daily.

Account of the Progress of the first Colony sent to Georgia.

We set sail from *Gravesend,* on the 17th of Novr. 1732, in the ship Anne, of 200 tons, *John Thomas,* Master, being about 130 persons, and arrived off the bar of Charlestown on the 13th day of January following. Mr. Oglethorpe went on shore to wait on the Governour; was received with great marks of civility and satisfaction; obtained an order for Mr. Middleton, the King's pilot, to carry the ship into Port Royal; and for small craft to carry the Colony from thence to the river Savannah, with a promise of further assistance from the Province. He returned on board the 14th day; and came to an anchor within the bar of Port Royal, at about 16 miles' distance from Beaufort. On the 18th, he went on shore upon Trench's island, and left a guard of 8 men upon *John's;* being a point of that island which commands the channel, and is about half-way between Beaufort and the river Savannah:—they had orders to prepare Huts, for the reception of the Colony, against they should lie there in their passage. From thence, he went to *Beaufort* town, where he arrived about one o'clock in the morning; and was saluted with a discharge of all the Artillery, and had the new Barracks fitted up; where, the Colony landed on the 20th day; and were, in every respect, cheerfully assisted by Lieut. Watts, Ensign Farrington, and the other officers of his Majesty's independent

company, as also by Mr. Delabarr, and other gentlemen of the neighborhood.

While the Colony refreshed themselves there, Mr. *Oglethorpe* went up the River, and chose a situation for a Town; and entered into a treaty with Tomochichi, the Micco, or Chief of the only nation of Indians living near it. He returned on the 24th day; and they celebrated the Sunday following, as a day of Thanksgiving for their safe arrival; and a sermon was preached by the Revd. Mr. Jones, (the Revd. Dr. Herbert, who came with the Colony, preaching that day at Beaufort town.) There was a great resort of the Gentlemen of that neighborhood, and their families; and a plentiful Dinner provided for the Colony, and all that came, by Mr. Oglethorpe; being 4 fat hogs, 8 turkies, besides fowls, *English Beef*, and other provisions, a hogshead of punch, a hogshead of beer, and a large quantity of wine; and, all was disposed in so regular a manner, that no person was drunk, nor any disorder happened.

On the 30th, the Colony embarked on board a sloop of 70 tons, and 5 Periaugers, and made sail; but were forced by a storm, to put in at a place called the *Look-out*, and to lie there all night:—the next day, they arrived at John's; where they found huts capable to contain them all, and a plentiful supper of venison. They re-embarked the next day; and in the afternoon arrived at the place intended for the Town.

Being arrived, on the 1st of February, at the intended Town, before night they erected 4 large tents, sufficient to hold all the people, being one for each tything; they landed their bedding, and other little necessaries; and all the people lay on shore. The ground they encamped upon is the edge of the river where the *key* is intended to be.

Until the 7th was spent in making a Crane, and unlading the goods:—which done, Mr. Oglethorpe divided the people; employing part, in clearing the land for seed; part, in beginning the palisade; and the remainder, in felling of trees where the Town is to stand.

Col. Bull arrived here, with a message from the General Assembly to Mr. Oglethorpe, and a letter from his Excellency Governor Johnson and the Council; acquainting him, that the two Houses, upon a conference, had agreed to give 20 barrels of Rice and 100 head of Cattle, besides Hogs, to the Trustees; and, that they had commanded a detachment of the *Rangers* (which are Horse, kept in the pay of the Province, for the scouring of the frontiers) and the *Scout-boat* (which is an armed

Bark, employed for the same purpose by water) to attend him, and take his orders.

Col. Bull brought with him 4 of his Negroes, who were Sawyers, to assist the Colony; and also, brought provision for them, being resolved to put the Trust to no expense; and by this means, to bestow his benefaction in the most noble and useful manner.

On the 9th day, Mr. Oglethorpe and Col. Bull marked out the Square, the Streets, and 40 Lots for houses for the town; and the first House (which was ordered to be made of clapboards) was begun that day.

The Town lies on the south side of the river Savannah, upon a Flat on the top of a hill; and 60 yards of it is reserved between it and the Key. The river washes the foot of the hill; which stretches along the side of it about a mile, and forms a terrace 40 feet perpendicular above high-water.

From the Key, looking eastward, you may discover the river as far as the islands in the sea; and westward, one may see it wind through the woods above 6 miles. The River is 1000 feet wide; the water fresh, and deep enough for sloops of 70 Tons to come up close to the side of the Key.

Gen. Oglethorpe's Conference with the Indians.

Mr. Oglethorpe set out from Charles town, S. C. on the 14th of May 1732, and lay at Col. Bull's house, on Ashley river, where he dined the next day:—and landed at Savannah, on the 18th, at ten in the morning; where he found that Mr. Whiggan, (the interpreter) with the chief men of all the Lower Creek nation, were come down to treat of an alliance with the new Colony.—The Lower Creeks are a nation of Indians, who formerly consisted of 10, but now are reduced to 8 tribes or towns; who have each their different government, but are allied together, and speak the same language. They claim from the Savannah river, as far as St. Augustine, and up to the Flint river, which falls into the Bay of Mexico:—all the Indians inhabiting this tract, speak their language; Tomo-chi-chi, micco, and the Indians of Yamacraw, are of their nation and language.

Mr. Oglethorpe received the Indians, in one of the new houses, that afternoon:—they were as follow:

From the tribe of Coweeta:—Yahou-Lakee, their king or

micco; Essoboo, their warrior, the son of Breen, (lately dead) whom the Spaniards called Emperor of the Creeks; with 8 men, and 2 women, attendants.

From the tribe of Cussetaho:—Cusseta, the micco; Tatchiquatchi, the head-warrior; with 4 attendants.

From the tribe of Owseecheyo:—Ogeese, the micco, or warking; Neathlouthko, and Ougachi, 2 chief-men; with 3 attendants.

From the tribe of the Cheehaws:—Outhleteboa, the micco; Thlauthlo-thlukee, Figeer, Sootamilla, war-captains; and attendants.

From the tribe Echetas:—Chutabeeche, and Robin, 2 war-captains, (the latter was bred amongst the English;) with 4 attendants.

From the tribe of Pallachucolas:—Gillatee, the head-warrior; and 5 attendants.

From the tribe of Oconas:—Oueekachumpa, called by the English, Long King; Coowoo, a warrior.

For the tribe of Eufaule:—Tomaumi, the head-warrior; and 3 attendants.

The Indians being all seated, *Oueekachumpa*, a very tall old man, stood out, and with a graceful action, and a good voice, made a long speech; which was interpreted by Mr. Wiggan and Mr. John Musgrove, and was to the following purpose.—He first claimed all the land to the southward of the river Savannah, as belonging to the Creek Indians. Next, (he said) that though they were poor and ignorant, He, who had given the English breath, had given them breath also. That He, who had made both, had given more wisdom to the white men. That they were firmly persuaded, that the Great Power which dwelt in heaven, and all around, (and then he spread out his hands, and lengthened the sound of his words) and which hath given breath to all men, had sent the English thither for the instruction of them, their wives, and children. That therefore they gave them up freely, their right to all the land which they did not use themselves. That this was not only his opinion, but the opinion of the 8 towns of the Creeks; each of whom having consulted together, had sent some of their Chief-men with skins, which is their wealth. He then stopped; and the chief-men of each town, brought up a bundle of buck-skins; and laid 8 bundles, from the 8 towns, at Mr. Oglethorpe's feet. He then said, those were the best thing they had; and therefore, they gave them with a good heart. He then thanked him for his kindness to Tomo-chi-chi, Micco, and his Indians, to whom he said he was related; and said, that though Tomo-chi-chi was banished from

his nation, that he was a good man, and had been a great warrior; and, it was for his wisdom and courage, that the banished men chose him king. Lastly, he said, that they had heard in the nation, that the Cherokees had killed some Englishmen; and that if he would command them, they would enter with their whole force into the Cherokee country, destroy their harvest, kill their people, and revenge the English. He then sat down. Mr. Oglethorpe promised to acquaint the Trustees with their desire of being instructed; and informed them, that, there had been a report of the Cherokees having killed some Englishmen, but that it was groundless:—he thanked them, in the most cordial manner, for their affection; and told them, that he would acquaint the Trustees with it.

Tomo-chi-chi, Micco, then came in with the Indians of Yamacraw, to Mr. Oglethorpe; and bowing very low, he said,—I was a banished man.—I came here poor and helpless, to look for good land near the tombs of my Ancestors; and the Trustees sent people here. I feared you would drive us away, for we were weak and wanted corn; but you confirmed our land to us, gave us food, and instructed our children:—we have already thanked you, in the strongest words we could find; but words are no return for such favors; for good words may be spoke by the deceitful, as well as by the upright heart. The Chief men of our nation are here, to thank you for us, and before them I declare your goodness, and that here I design to die; for, we all love your people so well, that with them we will live and die. We don't know good from evil, but desire to be instructed and guided by you; that we may do well with, and be numbered amongst the children of the Trustees.

He sat down:—and, *Yahou-Lakee*, Micco of Coweeta, stood up and said,—We are come 25 days' journey, to see you. I have been often desired to go down to Charlestown; but would not go down, because I thought I might die in the way: but, when I heard you were come, and that you were good men, I knew you were sent by HIM who lives in heaven, to teach us *Indians* wisdom. I therefore came down, that I might hear good things:—for I knew, that if I died in the way, I should die in doing good; and what was said, would be carried back to the nation, and our Children would reap the benefit of it. I rejoice that I have lived to see this day; and to see our friends, that have been long gone from amongst us. Our nation was, once strong, and had 10 towns; but, we are now weak, and have but 8 towns. You have comforted the banished; and have gathered them that were scattered, like little birds before the Eagle.

We desire therefore to be reconciled to our bretheren, who are here amongst you; and we give leave to Tomo-chi-chi, Stimoiche, and Illispelle, to call the kindred that love them, out of each of the Creek towns, that they may come together and make one town. We must pray you to recal the Yamasees; that they may be buried in peace amongst their ancestors, and that they may see their graves before they die; and then our nation shall be restored again to its 10 towns. After which he spoke concerning the abatement of the prices of goods; and agreed upon articles of a Treaty, which were ordered to be engrossed.

Tomo-chi-chi invited them to his town, where they passed the night in feasting and dancing.

On the 21st, their Treaty was signed:—a laced coat, a laced hat, and a shirt, was given to each of the Indian Chiefs; and to each of the Warriors a gun, a mantle of duffils; and, to all their attendants, coarse cloth for clothing. There was also given, a barrel of Gun-powder, 4 kegs of Bullets, a piece of broad-cloth, a piece of Irish linen, a cask of Tobacco-pipes, 8 belts and Cutlasses with gilt handles, Tape and inkle of all colors, and 8 kegs of Rum, for to be carried home to their Towns;—1 lb. of powder, 1 lb. of bullets, and as much provision for each man, as they pleased to take for their journey home.

The peace concluded,—the care of the People, and of carrying on the works, being recommended to Mr. James St. Julian, and Mr. Scott, Mr. Oglethorpe left the Savannah, on Monday, the 21st, dined at Mr. Bulloch's at Willtown, on the 22nd, and arrived here, early in the morning on Wednesday the 23rd.

Gen. Oglethorpe's Speech before the Assembly of South Carolina, June 9, 1733.

On Saturday 9th of June, 1733 *James Oglethorpe, Esqr.* made a very handsome speech to the Hon. Commons House of Assembly, returning them thanks for the encouragement they gave to the settling of Georgia.

It is as follows:—

Speech of James Oglethorpe, before the Provincial Legislature of South Carolina.

I should think myself very much wanting in justice and gratitude, if I should neglect thanking your Excellency, you Gentle-

men of the Councel, and you Gentlemen of the Assembly, for the assistance you have give to the Colony of Georgia. I have long wished for an opportunity of expressing my sense of the *universal zeal*, which the inhabitants of this Province have shewn for assisting that Colony; and could not think of any better opportunity, than now the whole Province is virtually present in its General Assembly. I am, therefore, Gentlemen, to thank you for the handsome assistance given by private people, as well as by the public. I am to thank you, not only in the name of the Trustees, and the little colony now in Georgia; but in behalf of all the distressed people of Britain and persecuted Protestants of Europe, to whom a place of Refuge will be secured by this first attempt.

Your charitable and generous proceeding, besides the self-satisfaction which always attends such actions, will be of the greatest advantage to this Province. You, *Gentlemen*, are the best judges of this; since, most of you have been personal witnesses of the dangerous blows this country has escaped from French, Spanish, and Indian arms. Many of you know this by experience, having signalized yourselves personally; either, when this Province by its own strength, and unassisted by every thing but the courage of its inhabitants, and the providence of God, repulsed the formidable invasions of the French; or, when it defeated the whole body of the southern Indians, who were armed against it, and invaded the Spaniards, who assisted them. You, *Gentlemen*, know there was a time, when, every day brought fresh advices of murders, ravages, and burnings; when, no profession or calling was exempted from arms; when, every inhabitant of the Province was obliged to leave their wives, their families, their useful occupations, and undergo all the fatigues of war, for the necessary defence of the country; and, all their endeavors scarcely sufficient to defend the western and southern frontiers against the Indians.

It would be needless for me to tell you, who are much better judges, how the increasing settlements of the new Colony upon the Southern frontiers, will prevent the like danger for the future. Nor need I tell you, how much every plantation will increase in value, by the safety of the Province's being increased, since the Lands to the southward already sell for above double what they did when the new Colony first arrived. Nor need I mention the great lessening of the burthen of the people, by the increasing of the income of the Tax, from the many hundred thousand acres of land, either taken or taking up on the prospect of future security. The assistance the Assembly have given, tho' not quite equal to the occasion, is very large, with respect to the present circumstan-

ces of the Province; and, as such, shews you to be kind benefactors to your new-come countrymen, whose settlements you support; and dutiful subjects to his Majesty, whose revenues and dominions, you by that means increase and strengthen.

As I shall soon return to Europe, I must recommend the infant Colony to your farther protection; being assured, both from your generosity and wisdom, that you will in case of any danger and necessity, give them the utmost support and assistance.

A

STATE

OF THE

Province of *Georgia*,

Attested upon OATH,

IN THE

COURT of SAVANNAH

November 10, 1740.

LONDON:

Printed for W. MEADOWS, at the *Angel* in *Cornhill*.

MDCCXLII.

P. Force, *Washington*, 1885.

A

STATE

OF THE

Province of *Georgia*,

Attested upon Oath, in the Court of *Savannah*,

Nov. 10, 1740.

THE Province of *Georgia* lies from the most Northern Stream of the River *Savannah* (the Mouth of which is in the Latitude of 32 Deg.) along the Sea-coast, to the most Southern Stream of the *Alatamha* (the Mouth of which is 30½ Deg.) and Westward from the Heads of the said Rivers, respectively in direct Lines to the South Seas.

THIS Province was Part of *South-Carolina;* but the Eastern and Southern Parts of it, inhabited by the *Creek-Indians;* the Northern by the *Cherokees* and *Chickesaws;* the Western by the *Chactaws;* the *Blewmouths*, and other *Indian* Nations, to the *South-Sea.* The *Creek-Indians*, who always acknowledged the King of *England* for their Sovereign, yet made War with the People of *Carolina*, to obtain Satisfaction for Injuries done by their pedling Traders: The War was concluded by a Peace, which obliged the People of *Carolina* not to settle beyond the River *Savannah;* and no *Englishman* was settled within this District, that we know of, when the first Colony of *Georgia* arrived. The Country was then all covered with Woods. Mr.

Oglethorpe agreed with the *Indians*, and purchased of them the Limits mentioned in the Treaty.

The Town of *Savannah* was laid out, and began to be built, in which are now 142 Houses, and good habitable Huts. The Soil in general, when cleared, is productive of *Indian* Corn, Rice, Peas, Potatoes, Pumpions, Melons, and many other Kinds of Gourds, in great Quantities; Wheat, Oats, Barley, and other *European* Grains, 'tis found by divers Experiments, may be propagated in many Parts (more especially in the Uplands toward *Augusta*) with Success. Mulberry-Trees and Vines agree exceeding well with the Soil and Climate, and so does the Annual Cotton, whereof large Quantities have been raised; and it is much planted: But the Cotton, which in some Parts is perennial, dies here in the Winter; which nevertheless the Annual is not inferior to in Goodness, but requires more Trouble in cleansing from the Seed. Cattle, Hogs, Poultry, and Fruit-Trees of most Kinds, have increased even beyond Imagination.

Ships of about three hundred Tons can come up to the Town, where the Worm (which is the Plague of the *American* Seas) does not eat; and the River is navigable for large Boats, as far as the Town of *Augusta*, which lies in the Latitude of 33 D. 5 M. and is 250 Miles distant from *Savannah* by Water; small Boats can go 300 Miles further, to the *Cherokees*.

There is already a considerable Trade in the River; and there is in this Town a Court-House, a Goal, a Store-House, a large House for receiving the *Indians*, a Wharf or Bridge, a Guard-House, and some other publick Buildings; a publick Garden of ten Acres cleared, fenced, and planted with Orange-Trees, Mulberry-Trees, Vines, some Olives, which thrive very well, Peaches, Apples, *&c.*

It must be confessed, that Oranges have not so universally thriven with us, as was expected, by Reason of some severe Blasts by Frosts in the Spring; yet divers with proper Care have preserved them; and as we see them grow and thrive well, with many of our Neighbours of *Carolina* to the Northward, we are convinced that they will with us also, as soon as we are become more perfect in the Knowledge of propagating them in a right

Manner; in order to which frequent Experiments are making; and we have already discovered not only what Kind of Soil agrees best with them, but also that they flourish most when they grow under Forest Trees, whereby we imagine they are protected from Blasts; and 'tis observed, that they take no Harm from the Droppins of any, except the Pine, which suffers nothing to grow near it, unless of its own Kind.

Notwithstanding the Quantity of Silk, hitherto made, has not been great, yet it increases, and will more and more considerably, as the Mulberry-Trees grow, whereof there are great Numbers yearly planted.

Vines likewise of late are greatly increased, many People appearing to have an Emulation of outdoing their Neighbours; and this Year has produced a considerable Quantity of very fine Grapes, whereof one Planter in particular made a Trial, to see what Kind of Wine they would make, which he put into a large Stone-Bottle, and made a Present of it to the General; who upon tasting, said he found it to be something of the Nature of a small *French* White Wine, with an agreeable Flavour; and several Persons here, who have lived formerly in Countries where there are a Plenty of Vineyards, do affirm, that all young Vines produce small Wines at first, and the Strength and Goodness of it increases as the Vines grow older.

Three Miles up the River there is an *Indian* Town, and at six Miles Distance are several considerable Plantations: At ten Miles Distance are some more, and at fifteen Miles Distance is a little Village, called *Abercorn*.

Above that, on the *Carolina* Side, is the Town of *Purysburgh*, twenty-two Miles from *Savannah;* and on the *Georgia* Side, twelve Miles from *Purysburgh*, is the Town of *Ebenezer*, which thrives very much; there are very good Houses built for each of the Ministers, and an Orphan-House; and they have partly framed Houses and partly Huts, neatly built, and formed into regular Streets; they have a great deal of Cattle and Corn-Ground, so that they sell Provisions at *Savannah;* for they raise much more than they can consume.

Thirty Miles above *Ebenezer*, on the *Carolina* Side, lies the

Palachocolas Fort: Five Miles above the *Palachocolas*, on the *Georgia* Side, lies the *Euchee* Town (or *Mount Pleasant*) to which about a hundred *Indians* belong; but few of them stay now in the Town, they chusing rather to live dispersed. All the Land from *Ebenezer* to the River *Briers*, belongs to those *Indians*, who will not part with the same, therefore it cannot be planted.

One hundred and forty-four Miles above *Mount Pleasant*, on the *Carolina* Side, is *Silver Bluff*, where there is another Settlement of *Euchee Indians:* On both Sides of the River are Fields of Corn planted by them.

Thirty Miles above *Silver Bluff* is *New Windsor*, formerly known by the Name of *Savannah* Town, or *Moore's* Fort, where there are but two or three Families on the *Carolina* Side, and a small Fort.

Seven Miles above *New Windsor*, on the *Georgia* Side, lies the Town of *Augusta*, just below the Falls; this was laid out by the Trustees Orders in the Year 1735, which has thriven prodigiously; there are several Warehouses thoroughly well furnished with Goods for the *Indian* Trade, and five large Boats belonging to the different Inhabitants of the Town, which can carry about nine or ten thousand Weight of Deer-Skins each, making four or five Voyages at least in a Year to *Charles-Town*, for exporting to *England;* and the Value of each Cargo is computed to be from 12 to 1500*l.* Sterling. Hither all the *English* Traders, with their Servants, resort in the Spring; and 'tis computed above two thousand Horses come thither at that Season; and the Traders, Packhorse-men, Servants, Townsmen, and others, depending upon that Business, are moderately computed to be six hundred white Men, who live by their Trade, carrying upon Packhorses all Kinds of proper *English* Goods; for which the *Indians* pay in Deer-Skins, Beaver, and other Furs; each *Indian* Hunter is reckoned to get three hundred Weight of Deer-Skins in a Year. This is a very advantageous Trade to *England*, since it is mostly paid for in Woollen and Iron.

Above this Town to the North-West, and on the *Georgia* Side of the River, the *Cherokees* live, in the Valley of the *Appe-*

lachin Mountains; they were about five thousand Warriors; but last Year it is computed they lost a thousand, partly by the Small-Pox, and partly (as they themselves say) by too much Rum brought from *Carolina*. The *French* are striving to get this Nation from us, which if they do, *Carolina* must be supported by a vast Number of Troops, or lost: But as long as we keep the Town of *Augusta*, our Party in the *Cherokees* can be so easily furnished with Arms, Ammunition and Necessaries, that the *French* will not be able to gain any Ground there.

The *Creek Indians* live to the Westward of this Town. Their chief Town is the *Cowetas*, two hundred Miles from *Augusta* and one hundred and twenty Miles from the nearest *French* Fort. The *Lower Creeks* consist of about a thousand, and the *Upper Creeks* of about seven hundred Warriors, upon the Edge of whose Country, the *French* Fort of *Albamahs* lies: They are esteemed to be sincerely attached to his Majesty's Interest.

Beyond the *Creeks* lie the brave *Chikesaws*, who inhabit near the *Mississippi* River, and possess the Banks of it; these have resisted both the Bribes and Arms of the *French;* and Traders sent by us live amongst them.

At *Augusta* there is a handsome Fort, where there is a small Garrison of about twelve or fifteen Men, besides Officers; and one Reason that drew the Traders to settle the Town of *Augusta*, was the Safety they received from this Fort, which stands upon high Ground on the Side of the River *Savannah*, which is there one hundred and forty Yards wide, and very deep; another Reason was the Richness and Fertility of the Land. The great Value of this Town of *Augusta* occasioned the General to have a Path marked out, through the Woods, from thence to *Old Ebenezer;* and the *Cherokee Indians* have marked out one from thence to their Nation, so that Horsemen now can ride from the Town of *Savannah* to the Nation of *Cherokees*, and any other of the *Indian* Nations, all on the *Georgia* Side of the River; but there are some bad Places which ought to be causewayed and made good, and which the General says he has not yet Capacity to do. This Road begins to be frequented, and will every Day be more and more so, and by it the *Cherokee Indians* can at any Time come down to our Assistance.

At *Old Ebenezer* there is a Cow-Pen, where the Trustees have a great Number of Cattle, and 'tis hoped with Care they will amount to six or seven hundred Head in another Year: But they were much neglected, there not being Horses or Men sufficient to drive up the young and outlying Cattle.

This is the Situation of the Settlements upon the River, at the Mouth of which lies the Island of *Tybee*, with the Light-House, which has been of the greatest Use to all Ships falling in with this Part of *America*. But from *Savannah* Southward, there are several Plantations (besides the Villages of *Hampstead* and *Highgate*) several of which are settled by such of the Inhabitants of the Town, as being able to purchase Cattle, have petitioned for Leases of Lands, and are settled upon those Lands by the General's Permission, until the Trustees Pleasure be known concerning the Leases: The Terms they propose, is the Lease to be for twenty-one Years, renewable every seven Years, upon paying one Year's Purchase of the improved Value; the first seven Years to be free, and no Fine paid for the first Renewal. Besides these Settlements, there are some others of five hundred Acres *per* Grant from the Trust, which extend as far as the *Ogeechy* River; upon which River lies *Fort Argyll*, in such a Situation, as is intended thereby to command all the Passes in that Part of the Province.

The next is *Darien*, where the *Scots* Highlanders are settled; the Buildings are mostly Huts, but tight and warm; and they have a little Fort. They have been industrious in Planting, and have got into driving of Cattle, for the Supply of the Regiment, *&c.* but this last Year most of them going voluntarily into the War, little was done at home, where their Families remained.

Below the Town of *Darien*, is the Town of *Frederica*, where there is a strong Fort, and Store-Houses, many good Buildings in the Town, some of which are Brick, there is a Meadow near adjoining that is ditch'd in, of about three hundred and twenty Acres, of which there is good Hay made. The People have not planted much there this Year, occasioned by the War so near their Doors, and being chiefly Tradesmen, who make more by working, or selling to the Camp, than they can by Planting. There are some little Villages upon the Is-

land of St. *Simon's*, and some very handsome Houses built by the Officers of the Regiment; and there has been Pot-Herbs, Pulse, and Fruit, produced upon the Island, of great Use towards supplying the Town and Garrison: But Corn, Beer, and Meat, they have from elsewhere.

Between this Island and *Jekyll Island*, is an Inlet of the Sea, called *Jekyll Sound*, which is a very fine Harbour, and is one of the best Entries the *English* have to the Southward of *Virginia*. This is an excellent Station for Ships to cruize on the *Spaniards*, it commanding the homeward bound Trade, which must come through the Gulph of *Florida*, and near St. *Simon's*; the Entry lies in 31 D. 10. M. The Place is barred, but upon the Bar there is Water sufficient every Tide to carry in Twenty-Gun Ships; and taking the best Opportunity, Forty-Gun Ships may be carried in to refit;—a great Conveniency to a Squadron in this Place. Upon *Jekyll Island* there is but very little good Land, not above three or four hundred Acres, the rest being sandy Sea-Beach. Mr. *Horton* has his Lot upon this Island, and has made great Improvements there. To the Southward of *Jekyll* lies the Island of *Cumberland*, and the Fort of St. *Andrew's*, situated upon a fine commanding Ground; and on the S. E. of the same Island, is another strong Fort called *Fort William*, which commands *Amelia Sound*, and the inland Passage from *Augustine*. The next Island is *Amelia*; beyond that is St. *John's*, one of the *Spanish* Outguards; and between forty and fifty Miles from that is *Augustine*.

We are now fully acquainted with the Colony, and what it will produce; the inland Part is hilly, till it rises into Mountains, where all Kinds of Timber grow. Near the Sea the Ground is more level and flat, where Laurels, Cedars, Cyprus, Bays, and Live Oak, are of the Size of Timber-Trees: Among the Shrubs, some of the principal are Pomegranates, which will grow well in Hedges, Myrtle, Prickly Pears, Shumach, Sassafrass, China Root, several Sorts of Snake Root, *&c.* There is commonly black Mould in the low Lands; the rising Ground is frequently Clay, where Oak and Hickery mostly grow; as it also does in a great Part of the flat Land that is dry, where Walnut, Ash,

Gum-Tree, Oak of several Kinds, Hickery, Beech, wild Cherries, *&c.* are in great Plenty to be found. The higher Lands are of a sandy Surface, where Pines usually grow, all Parts producing Trees of some Kind or other, except the Savannahs, and Marshes, which bear Grass; and many of the low Land Swamps covered with Canes, which are excellent Feed for Cattle in the Winter. Where the Oak and Hickery grow, the Soil is in general of a strong Nature, and very well esteemed for Planting, being found by Experience to produce the best Crops of *Indian* Corn, and most Sorts of Grain, except Rice, which thrives best in swampy Ground: This is only spoken of the lower Parts of *Georgia*, which reaches from the Sea-Shore to the Foot of the Hills, being a flat Country of sixty or seventy Miles, or more, in Breadth. The Hill Country is very different, there being Marble, Chalk, Gravel, Rocks, and all the same Variety of Soil that is in *Europe;* with respect to the Proportion of the different Kinds of Soil, it cannot be given, unless the Whole were surveyed; but the *American* Dialect distinguishes Land into Pine, Oak, and Hickery, Swamp, Savannah, and Marsh. Near the Town of *Savannah* we have found Stone, which is dug for Building; as there is also good Clay, whereof Bricks are made; and a Pottery Work is carried on with Success, where common Ware for most Uses is made in good Plenty, and exported to the neighbouring Provinces; and the Master, who is of an enterprizing Genius, has undertaken, as soon as he has made proper Furnaces, to make a superfine Sort, of such as shall not be inferior to *Porcelian* itself; but a little Time will discover his further Performances.

The Coast is low, with a hard, sandy Beach: When we approach it at twenty-five Leagues Distance, we find Ground in twenty-five Fathom Water, and it shoals gradually to the Shore; the Sounding being so regular, makes it a safe Coast to fall in with, having good Anchoring all along, and no Rocks. The Mouths of the Rivers *Savannah* and *Alatamaha* make a great Number of Islands, and the Entries between them form good Harbours. To the Southward of *Tybee* are the following Entries, *viz. Wassaw, Ossebah*, St. *Catharine's*, *Sapello*, *Doboy*,

St. *Simon's*, which is the North-Entry to *Frederica; Jekyll Sound*, which is the South-Entry to *Frederica*, to which Place the Channel is navigable, from the ordinary Place of Anchoring in the Sound, for Ships of a good Burden up to the Town.

The Staple of the Country of *Georgia* being presumed, and intended to be, principally Silk and Wine, every Year confirms more our Hopes of succeeding in those two, from the great Increase (as has been before observed) of the Vines and Mulberry-Trees, wherein Perseverance only can bring it to Perfection. Several other Things might be produced, and perhaps more immediately profitable to the Planters; but it is apprehended, that it is not any Business of this Colony, nor any Benefit to the Trade of *England*, to interfere with what other *English* Plantations have produced, such as Rice, *&c.*

As the Boundaries of the Colony are now known, together with the Climate, and Manner of Agriculture, more might be done henceforward in one Year, than could in several Years before we attained to that Knowledge; but our People are weak, being decreased, by great Numbers having been decoyed away to other Colonies: Many having taken to Idleness, upon shutting up the Store went away; but those who stayed, and now remain are still a Body of the most valuable People, that find Means to live comfortably, some by their Trades, some by Planting, and raising live Stock, and some by their Labour, either by Land or Water; and one of those remaining, are worth three that left us, for such Work: And if an Embarkation was to come in with the next Year, it would be of great Service to the Colony, the *Saltzburghers* wishing for more of their Countrymen, and having been very industrious.

The Persons sent from *England* on the Charity were of the Unfortunate, many of whom have by their Industry proved that they deserved better, and have thriven; many also shewed they were brought into those Misfortunes by their own Faults; and when those who quitted their own Country to avoid Labour, saw Labour stand before their Eyes in *Georgia*, they were easily persuaded to live in *Carolina* by Cunning, rather than work: This has been a great Misfortune also upon many Persons, who

brought over Servants indented to serve them, for a certain Number of Years, who being picked up in the Streets of *London*, or some such Manner, their Masters found them unfit for Labour, and many of them took such Opportunities as they could get, to desert and fly into *Carolina*, where they could be protected. Indeed, good and bad which came from *England*, were mostly Inhabitants of Towns there; but such seldom turn out good Husbandmen with their own Hands; yet some of them proved very useful in a new Colony, since they most readily compose Towns, which is the first Thing necessary to be a Receptacle for new Comers: And from thence, when all Demands of Labour, for Building and Trade are supplied, the laborious People may enlarge into the Country, and raise Provisions for the Use of the Towns: Whereas, if the first were all labouring Countrymen, they would naturally disperse to the most fertile Land, and perhaps succeed for a While; but for Want of Neighbourhood and Markets, would force most of them to remove, and the Country remain little or nothing the better improved, as it happened in *Virginia*, till the Government, with great Difficulty at last, raised Towns in that Province.

It ought not here to be passed over, how ready the Country is to receive a Number of *German* Families, accustomed to Husbandry, such as usually come once a Year down the *Rhine* to *Holland*, and embark thence for *America*, or the *East-Indies;* some of these we have already had Experience of, insomuch that the People here would take off a good Number of them: And it would be of great Service (as we apprehend) to this Colony, at present, to send a Ship over, loaden with *Germans*, on the same Terms Mr. *Hope* does to *Philadelphia*, only taking Care that Provisions for them on their Passage be more plentiful, and that they are less crowded than on board his Ships: The Terms are, they pay Half their Passage themselves on embarking, and six Weeks after their Arrival, to pay the other Half, which they Generally do, with private Contracts to People; but in case they do not, then they may be bound by the Ship's Master for four or five Years, if they are above twenty-one Years of Age; but if under, they may be bound until the Age of twenty

one if Men, and eighteen if Girls. It must be at the same Time confess'd, that divers of these Foreigners have, during the Time of their Servitude, shewn themselves of a dogged Disposition, surly and obstinate, discovering an Averseness to their Masters Orders, which proceeds (as we imagine) from a Dislike of their being subject to Strangers; whilst others again have behaved well; but it may be alledged with Truth, that when, or wheresoever among us, any of them have worked for their own Benefit, they are indefatigable, and out-done by none, which joined with great Parsimony, fits them for excellent Settlers when free.

To enable the industrious *English* Settlers to go on with Planting, who are truly desirous of Cultivating Land; we humbly conceive nothing could be a greater Inducement to it, than that the honourable Trustees would please to import yearly, so long as they see good, a Number of *English* or *Welch* Servants, such as are used to hard Labour in the Country, and Strangers to *London*, to be contracted with in *England* to serve the Trustees for five Years, from two to four Pounds yearly Wages, according to their Ability, for finding themselves in Apparel. Those Servants, on their Arrival, to be hired by the Inhabitants for one Year, the Person hiring to pay over and above the contracted Wages, one Pound yearly to the Trustees, so that in five Years the Passage-Money will be paid. And to enable the Planters to pay the said Wages, it is humbly proposed, that a Bounty be settled on every Product of the Land, *viz.* Corn, Pease, Potatoes, Wine, Silk, Cotton, Flax, *&c.* to what Value the honourable Trust shall judge meet to be limited in the following, or any other Manner, *viz.* For the first Years the said Bounty to be payable for Corn, Pease, Potatoes, *&c.* only; and thenceforward to cease wholly, and the Residue of Years wherein any Bounty should be allowed, to be payable only for Silk, Wine, Oil, *&c.* by which Means the Planter so assisted might be able to live, whilst at the same Time he propagates Vines, Mulberry-Trees, *&c.* from which he can expect no immediate Benefit before they come to some Maturity. A Rule to be made, that they who hire the said Servants shall employ them only in Plantation-Work of their own,

and not let them out at Hire to Work at handicraft Trades, or any other Business, &c. That each Servant shall serve one whole Year; and if they part at the Year's End he shall find himself another Master within Days to serve for one Year also, and so on to the End of their respective Times to serve; by which Means good Masters will not want good Servants, and 'twill be a great Means to make other Masters become good, in order to get good Servants, or else be content with the bad, or none. If any Disputes arise between Masters and Servants, such to be determined by the Magistrates, according to the Laws of *England*, wherein the Magistrate concerned as a Party shall not appear as a Judge, or offer to interfere with the Opinion of the others, but acquiesce in their Determination, if it happens to be in Favour of the Servant, whom they ought to defend from cruel Usage, and where they find such evil Treatment either thro' too severe Correction, or want of sufficient wholsome Food, according to the Custom of the Colony, the Magistrates to have Power of vacating such Services, and obliging the Servants to find another Master.

The kind Intention of the honourable Trustees to extend the Tenure of Lands in the manner proposed (as signify'd to their Secretary here) gave great Satisfaction to all reasonable Persons who seem'd to desire no more, and only wish to find that ratify'd, which they apprehend to be not yet done, and that occasions some Anxiety about it.

Whether these Helps, or whatever other, the honourable Trustees shall be pleas'd to afford us, the Ability of the Inhabitants to support themselves must still in a great Measure depend on the Industry and Frugality of each. Divers in the Province who understand Planting, and are already settled, provided they can attain to some live Stock, can and do support themselves. Men working for Hire, Boat-men, Pack-horse-men, &c. support themselves very well, if they will work; and more such would, were they to be found. Shopkeepers, Tradesmen, and Artificers, such as Tallow-Chandlers, Soap-Boilers, Brasiers, Sadlers, Shoe-makers, Tanners, &c. live very well on their Business here, and many more might, were there more Merchants to

import Goods for supplying the *Indian* Traders, which would increase the Resort to *Savannah*; whereas those Traders are now obliged to get the greatest Part of what they want from *Charles-Town* in *Carolina*. New Planters, and such as go on upon particular Improvements, such as Wine, Silk, &c. will need some Assistance. Magistrates, Constables, and Tything-men, and others whose Time is taken up in the publick Service, require some Allowance for the same. It is also needful for the Well-being of the Colony, that Roads should be maintain'd: Posts for communicating of Letters, and Forts upon the Frontiers, as well towards the *Indians* as *Spaniards*, be supported: As likewise other publick Works, which the People here are in no Degree able to bear.

When the East Part of the Province of *Georgia* was taken Possession of under the Trustees Charter by Mr. *Oglethorpe*, according to the Limits of the *British* Dominions in *America*, Forts were erected upon the Extremities to keep up Marks of Possession: The Strength and Materials were of such a Nature, as the Men he had with him could make, and sufficient for Defence against any Strength that could be brought against them by the neighbouring *Indians*, or *Spaniards* in *Florida*.

The first Foundation of the Colony was upon Tenures, by which each Lot was to be occupied by a Freeholder, obliged to take Arms for the Defence of the Colony; and this Militia, with the Assistance of our friendly *Indians*, held the Colony against all Attempts of the *Spaniards* from *Augustine*, who alarmed them almost every Spring, pretending a Claim, and therefore a Right to invade, without being said to infringe the Peace; but did not take one Foot of Ground from us.

In the Beginning of the Year 1738, great Preparations were made at the *Havannah*, and Troops were sent from thence and *Old Spain* to *Augustine*, for the taking Possession (as they call'd it) of that Part of *Carolina* in which *Georgia* was comprehended, and which they gave out belong'd to them. Upon the Trustees having early Notice of these great Preparations, they applied to his Majesty to take upon him the Protection of the Colony, which in its Infancy was unable to repel so great a Force.

His Majesty thereupon ordered a Regiment to be raised, and posted on the *Spanish* Frontiers, since which the War is broke out, and that Regiment, with the Assistance of Troops and *Indians* raised in *Georgia* and *Carolina*, in Conjunction with a Squadron of Men of War, attack'd *Augustine*, and after raising the Siege of that Place, remain'd in the Possession of the Frontiers, as before the War; but for the Defence of the Colony now, it is necessary to have Vessels that can act in shoal Water, on so large and extended a Frontier towards the Sea, and Rangers who can ride the Woods; as also Artillery, and all other Things necessarily appertaining thereto, and Means for augmenting our Fortifications equal to the increas'd Strength of the *Spaniards*.

Savannah, Nov. 10, 1740.

WE whose Names are hereunto subscribed, being duly sworn in open Court, do declare, that the above State of the Province of *Georgia* is true, according to the best of our own Knowledge, and from the most certain Informations we could obtain from others; and do desire, that the Seal of this Court may be affixed thereto.

* Pat. Graham	George Johnson
* Jos. Fitzwalter	Samuel Parker
* James Carwells	Thomas Palmer
* Thomas Upton	William Stephens
* Giles Becu	Henry Parker
* Thomas Egerton	Thomas Jones
* Thomas Cundell	Samuel Mercer
Anthony Camuse	James Campbell
John Burton	John Rae
Jos. Pavey	Noble Jones
Robert Hainks	Thomas Young
John Mellidge	Thomas Ellis.
Tho. Bayley (Smith)	

N. B. Those seven mark'd with *, at their own voluntary Desire, were admitted to sign it, and were sworn before the Magistrates out of Court.

The Deposition of Lieutenant George Dunbar, *taken upon the Holy Evangelists, before the Recorder of the Town of* Frederica, Jan. 20, 1738-9.

THIS Deponent says, That he arrived in *Georgia* the Beginning of *June* last, with the first Detachment of General *Oglethorpe's* Regiment; and from that Time, to the Beginning of *August*, all the Carpenters of the said three Companies, and a certain Number of other Soldiers, were employ'd in building Clap-board Huts for the said Companies, and the other Soldiers were employ'd in unloading Vessels and Boats loaded with Clap-boards, and other Necessaries for Building, and Provisions of different Kinds, often up to their Necks in Water: They were also employ'd in carrying Clap-boards, *&c.* upon their Backs to the Camp, in clearing Ground from Roots of Trees, *&c.* for a Parade, burning the Wood and Rubbish upon it, carrying of Bricks, and burning Lime: And the Artists who were excused from these Works, wrought at their own Trades, without standing still, by Reason of Heat. The Hours of Labour were from Day-Light, till between Eleven and Twelve; and from between One and Two, and sometimes between Two and Three, till Dark. All that Time the Men kept so healthy, that often no Man in the Camp ailed in the least, and none died except one Man, who came sick on board, and never worked at all; nor did I hear, that any of the Men ever made the Heat a Pretence for not Working.

AND this Deponent further says, That he has been often in *America*, and frequently heard, that in the Negro Colonies, the Hire of White Men is more than that of Negroes. And this Deponent knows, that in *South-Carolina* White Ship-Carpenters and Caulkers have about one Third more Wages than a Negro of the same Trade or Profession, this Deponent having often paid Wages to both; and also knows there is the aforesaid Difference in many Handicrafts, and verily believes it is so in all; and affirms, that the same is owing to the White Men exceeding the Negroes in the same Professions, both in Quantity and Quality of their Work.

GEORGE DUNBAR,

Sworn before me the Day and Year above written,
FRANCIS MOORE.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Thomas Jones *at* Savannah *in* Georgia, *to the Trustees Accomptant, dated* July 1, 1741.

THE Trustees *German* Servants in general behave well, and are industrious: Of these, eight or ten Families are more re-

markably so, and have this last Year purchas'd a good Stock of Cattle, some having six Cows, the least two; and each having a Garden, where they raise some Corn, Pease, Pompions, Potatoes, &c. which with the Milk of their Cows is the chief Part of their Food: They are at little Expence in Cloathing, but this exposes them to the Envy and Hatred of our Negro-Mongers, and such who seek the Extirpation of the Colony, as well as of the drunken, idle Sort amongst us.

I AM informed by *Francis Harris* and *William Russell* (who are very conversant with them, and can talk the *German* Tongue) That they have lately joined, in a Letter writ and sent to their Friends and Acquaintance in *Germany*, persuading them to come to *Georgia*, where they may, by their Industry, live in greater Plenty, and more comfortably than they can elsewhere.

THESE Servants are very desirous, That (when the Time of their Service is expired) they may have Lands allotted them within twelve or fifteen Miles of *Savannah*, where they may bring Things by Land-Carriage in a Vicinage, and that they may make one common Fence (as the People of *Ebenezer* have done) and be assisting to one another.

The Copy of a Letter from the Reverend Mr. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, German *Chaplain to his Majesty, dated at* Kensington, January 11, 1741-2, *and sent to the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of* Georgia *in* America.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING seen Paragraphs in Print representing the *Saltzburghers* as being uneasy with their Settlement at *Ebenezer* in *Georgia*, and desirous to remove therefrom; and fearing such Reports (if credited) might give just Offence to your Honours their Guardians, as well as to their Benefactors in *Germany*, and thereby deprive them from having yours, and their Favours continued.

I THOUGHT it my indispensible Duty to acquaint your Honours, That by all the Letters and Journals I have received since their Settlement at *New Ebenezer*, they have express'd quite different Sentiments; and not to trouble you with many Particulars, I beg Leave herewith to inclose you two Extracts of the latest Accounts I received from them in *November* last.

Extract of a Letter from the Reverend Mr. Boltzius *at* Ebenezer, *dated the 23d of* July, 1741, *to the Reverend Dr.* Francke, *Professor of Divinity at* Hall.

" TOGETHER with these spirtual Blessings, and the salutary " Effect of the Word of God to the Conversion of many " Souls, we enjoy also this Year, by the Mercy of God, many " temporal good Things.

" THE present War, and the Burden of it hath not affected " us yet, and we don't feel the least of it; and in the great " Dearness the Colony suffered last Year, we have not been in " Want of necessary Provisions. As to the present Year, we " have a very hopeful Prospect of a good Harvest, every Thing " in the Fields and Gardens growing so delightful, as our Eyes " hardly have seen in this Country before. * If *Isaac*, by the " Blessing of the Lord, received from what he had sowed, an " hundred Fold, I believe, I dare say, to the Praise of the great " Mercy of God over us, our *Saltzburghers* will get thousand " Fold, notwithstanding that the Corn, when it came out of the " Ground, was eaten quite up two or three Times by the Worms, " of which nobody can hardly form a right Idea, except he sees " it with his own Eyes. Wheat, Rice, and other Grain, must be " sowed very thin, because each Grain brings forth fifty, an hun- " dred, or more Stalks and Ears. The Land is really very " fruitful, if the Sins of the Inhabitants, and the Curse of God " for such Sins, doth not eat it up, which was formerly the un- " happy Case of the blessed Land of *Canaan*.

" AND I am heartily sorry to acquaint you, that I don't find " in some of the Inhabitants of the Colony, a due Thankfulness, " for, and Contentment with the many Benefits bestowed on " them for several Years together; although those who are in- " dustrious, and will labour for their Maintenance, may, as we " do, live contentedly, and subsist under the Blessing of God, " promised by St. *Paul*, *Heb.* xiii. 5. *I will never leave thee, " nor forsake thee.* Which Blessing the Idle and Unthankful " are not intitled to."

Extract out of the Journal of Mr. Boltzius, *Minister of the Gospel at* Ebenezer *in* Georgia

"THE 10th of *August*, 1741. We have this Year Plenty " of Peaches, and as this Fruit doth not keep, some of

* Gen. xxvi. 12.

" our People try to make a certain Sort of Brandy of them,
" others give them to the Swine: This is more than any body
" could have promised to himself, or others, some Years ago.
" Even at this Time, when I am writing this, a Man brings a
" large Dish of blue Grapes to me, grown wild in the Woods;
" they are of a sweet Taste, and pretty like our *European*
" Grapes; that I am very apt to believe, the wild Vine-Trees,
" if properly managed, would give good Wine. Thanks be to
" our gracious God, who gives us here every good Thing for our
" Support.

" The 9th of *September*, 1741. Some Time ago I wrote to
" an honoured Friend in *Europe*, That the Land in this Coun-
" try if well managed and laboured, brings forth, by the Bles-
" sings of God, not only hundred Fold, but thousand Fold; and
" I this Day was confirmed therein. A Woman having two
" Years ago picked out of *Indian* Corn, brought at *Purysburgh*,
" no more than three Grains of Rye (called here *German* Corn)
" and planting them here at *Ebenezer*, one of these Grains pro-
" duced an hundred and seventy Stalks and Ears, and the three
" Grains yielded to her a Bag of Corn as large as a Coat-Pock-
" et, the Grains whereof were good and full grown; and she
" desired me to send Part of them to a kind Benefactor in
" *Europe*. One of our *Saltzburghers* brought to me also a like
" Bag of Beans all grown out of one Bean.

" True it is, notwithstanding the Fertility of the Land, the
" first Tillagers of it must undergo and struggle with great
" Difficulties; but them that come after them will reap the Ben-
" efit thereof, if they go on to do their Labour in the Fear of
" God.

" The Land is able to provide every good Thing, and more
" particularly is Pasturage very plenteous."

FINIS

A

True and Historical

NARRATIVE

Of the COLONY of

GEORGIA,

In *America*,

From the First Settlement thereof until this present Period:

Containing

The most authentick Facts, Matters, and Transactions therein:

Together with

His Majesty's Charter, Representations of the People, Letters, &c.

And

A Dedication to His Excellency General *Oglethorpe*.

By { Pat. Tailfer, *M. D.*
Hugh Anderson, *M. A.*
Da. Douglas, *and others*,

Landholders in Georgia, *at present in* Charles-Town, *in* South-Carolina.

——Qui Deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti,
Duramq; callet Pauperiemq; pati,
Pejusq; Letho Flagitium timer,
Non ille pro caris Amicis
Aut Patria timidus Perire. *H. 4 O.*

Charles Town, South Carolina:
Printed by P. Timothy, *for the Authors*, 1741.

P. Force, *Washington*, 1835.

To His Excellency

James Oglethorpe, *Esq;*

General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in SOUTH CAROLINA *and* GEORGIA; *and one of the Honourable Trustees for Establishing the Colony of* Georgia *in* AMERICA, *&c.*

May it please Your Excellency,

AS the few surviving Remains of the Colony of *Georgia* find it necessary to present the World (and in particular *Great Britain*) with a true State of that Province, from its first Rise to its present Period; Your Excellency (of all Mankind) is best entitled to the Dedication, as the principal Author of its present Strength and Affluence, Freedom and Prosperity: And tho' incontestable Truths will recommend the following *NARRATIVE* to the patient and attentive Reader; yet your Name, *SIR*, will be no little Ornament to the Frontispiece, and may possibly engage some courteous Perusers a little beyond it.

THAT Dedication and Flattery are synonimous, is the Complaint of every Dedicator, who concludes himself ingenuous and fortunate, if he can discover a less trite and direct Method of flattering than is usually practised; but we are happily prevented from the least Intention of this kind, by the repeated Offerings of the *Muses* and *News-Writers* to Your Excellency, in the publick Papers: 'Twere presumptuous even to dream of equalling or encreasing them; We therefore flatter ourselves, that Nothing we can advance will in the least shock Your Excellency's Modesty; not doubting but your Goodness will pardon any Deficiency of Elegance and Politeness, on account of our Sincerity, and the serious Truth we have the Honour to approach you with.

WE have seen the ancient Custom of sending forth Colonies, for the Improvement of any distant Territory, or new Acquisition, continued down to ourselves; but to Your Excellency alone it is owing, that the World is made acquainted with a Plan, highly refined from those of all former Projecters. They fondly imagin'd it necessary to communicate to such young Settle-

ments, the fullest Rights and Properties, all the Immunities of their Mother Countries, and Privileges rather more extensive: By such Means indeed, these Colonies flourish'd with early Trade and Affluence; but Your Excellency's Concern for our perpetual Welfare, could never permit you to propose such transitory Advantages for us: You consider'd Riches like a Divine and Philosopher, as the *Irritamenta Malorum*, and knew that they were disposed to inflate weak Minds with Pride; to pamper the body with Luxury, and introduce a long Variety of Evils. Thus have you *Protected us from ourselves, as* Mr. *Waller* says, by keeping all Earthly Comforts from us: You have afforded us the Opportunity of arriving at the Integrity of the *Primitive Times*, by intailing a more than *Primitive Poverty* on us: The Toil that is necessary to our bare Subsistence, must effectually defend us from the Anxieties of any further Ambition: As we have no Properties, to feed Vain-Glory and beget Contention; so we are not puzzled with any System of Laws to ascertain and establish them: The valuable Virtue of Humility is secured to us, by your Care to prevent our procuring, or so much as seeing, any *Negroes*, (the only human Creatures proper to improve our Soil) lest our Simplicity might mistake the poor *Africans* for greater slaves than ourselves: And that we might fully receive the Spiritual Benefit of those wholesome Austerities; you have wisely denied us the Use of such Spirituous Liquors, as might in the least divert our Minds from the Contemplation of our Happy Circumstances.

OUR Subject swells upon us; and did we allow ourselves to indulge our Inclination, without considering our weak Abilities, we should be tempted to launch out into many of Your Excellency's extraordinary Endowments, which do not so much regard the Affair in Hand: But as this would lead us beyond the Bounds of a Dedication; so would it engross a Subject too extensive for us, to the Prejudice of other Authors and Panegyrists; We shall therefore confine ourselves to that remarkable Scene of Your Conduct, whereby *Great Britain* in general, and the Settlers of *Georgia* in particular, are laid under such inexpressible Obligations.

BE pleased then, *Great SIR*, to accompany our heated Imaginations, in taking a View of this Colony of *Georgia!* this Child of your auspicious Politicks! arrived at the utmost Vigor of its Constitution, at a Term when most former States have been struggling through the Convulsions of their Infancy. This early Maturity however, lessons our Admiration, that Your Excellency lives to see (what few Founders ever aspired after) the great Decline and almost final Termination of it. So many

have finish'd their Course during the Progress of the Experiment, and such Numbers have retreated from the Fantoms of Poverty and Slavery which their cowardly Imaginations pictur'd to them; that you may justly vaunt with the boldest Hero of them all,

——— *Like Death you reign*
O'er silent Subjects and a desert Plain.

Busiris.

YET must your Enemies (if you have any) be reduced to confess, that no ordinary Statesman could have digested in the like Manner, so capacious a Scheme, such a copious Jumble of Power and Politicks. We shall content ourselves with observing, that all those beauteous Models of Government which the little States of *Germany* exercise, and those extensive Liberties which the Boors of *Poland* enjoy, were design'd to concenter in your System; and were we to regard the Modes of Government, we must have been strangely unlucky to have miss'd of the best, where there was the Appearance of so great a Variety; for under the Influence of our *Perpetual Dictator*, we have seen something like *Aristocracy*, *Oligarchy*, as well as the *Triumvirate*, *Decemvirate* and *Consular Authority* of famous Republicks, which have expired many Ages before us: What Wonder then we share the fame Fate? Do their Towns and Villages exist but in Story and Rubbish? We are all over Ruins; our Publick-Works, Forts, Wells, High-Ways, Light-House, Store and Water-Mills, &c. are dignified like theirs, with the same venerable Desolation. The Log-House indeed, is like to be the last forsaken Spot of your Empire; yet even this, thro' the Death or Desertion of those who should continue to inhabit it, must suddenly decay; the Bankrupt Jailor himself, shall be soon denied the Privilege of human Conversation; and when this last Moment of the Spell expires, the whole shall vanish like the Illusion of some *Eastern Magician*.

BUT let not this solitary Prospect impress Your Excellency with any Fears of having your Services to Mankind, and to the Settlers of *Georgia* in particular, buried in Oblivion; for if we diminutive Authors are allow'd to prophesie (as you know Poets in those Cases formerly did) we may confidently presage, That while the Memoirs of *America* continue to be read in *English*, *Spanish*, or the Language of the *Scots* High Landers, Your Excellency's Exploits and Epocha will be transmitted to Posterity.

SHOULD Your Excellency apprehend the least Tincture of Flattery in any Thing already hinted; we may sincerely assure you, we intended nothing that our Sentiments did not very strict-

ly attribute to your Merit; and in such Sentiments, we have the Satisfaction of being fortified by all Persons of Impartiality and Discernment.

But to trespass no longer on those Minutes, which Your Excellency may suppose more significantly employ'd on the Sequal; let it suffice at present, to assure you, that we are deeply affected with your Favours; and tho' unable of ourselves properly to acknowledge them, we shall embrace every Opportunity of Recommending you to higher Powers, who (we are hopeful) will reward Your Excellency according to your MERIT.

May it please Your Excellency,
Your Excellecy's
Most devoted Servants,

The Land-Holders of GEORGIA,

Authors of the following *Narrative.*

PREFACE

THE Colony of Georgia *has afforded so much subject of Conversation to the World, that it is not to be question'd but a true and impartial Account of it from its first Settlement to its present 'Period, will be generally agreeable; and the more so, that the Subject has hitherto been so much disguised and misrepresented in* Pamphlets, Poems, Gazettes *and* Journals.

IF it it ask'd, Why this NARRATIVE *has not been publish'd to the World sooner? We assign two Reasons, which (we doubt not) will be satisfactory.*

FIRST, *A Number of Honourable Gentlemen accepted* the Charge of Trustees *for executing the Purposes in his Majesty's most gracious* CHARTER; *Gentlemen, whose Honour and Integrity we never did, or yet do call in question: But, to our great Misfortune, none of that honourable Body, (excepting Mr.* OGELTHORPE*) ever had Opportunity of Viewing the Situation and Circumstances of the Colony, and judging for themselves as to the Necessities thereof. How far Mr.* Oglethorpe's *Schemes were consistent with the Welfare or Prosperity of it, will best appear from the following* NARRATIVE.

WHEN Experience gradually unfolded to us the Alterations we found absolutely requisite to our subsisting, we made all dutiful and submissive Applications to these our Patrons, in whom we placed so much Confidence: This Course we judged the most proper and direct, and therefore repeated these our dutiful Applications, both to the Body of the Trustees and to Mr. Oglethorpe; *but alas! our Miseries could not alter his Views of Things, and therefore we could obtain no Redress from him; and the honourable Board we found were prejudiced against our Petitions (no doubt) thro' Misinformations and Misrepresentations; and this (we are confident) a further Enquiry and Time will convince them of.*

THE inviolable Regard we paid to the honourable Board, kept us from applying to any other Power for Redress, whilst the least Hopes could be entertained of any from them: And we make no doubt, but that our Moderation in this respect, will recommend us to all Persons of Humanity.

A SECOND *Reason is, That as we had daily Occasion of seeing our supream Magistrates, who ruled over us with unlimit-*

ed Power, exercising illegal Acts of Authority, by Threatnings, Imprisonments, and other Oppressions; therefore we had just Reason to apprehend, that any further Steps to obtain Relief, might subject us to the like Effects of arbitrary Power; so, until now, that a Handful of us have made our Escape to a Land of Liberty *(after having made Shipwreck of our Time and Substance in that unhappy Colony) we had it not in our Power to represent the State of that Settlement to the World, or make our Application to higher Powers for Redress.*

WE are hopeful, that the Perusal of the following Sheets, will rectify two sorts of Readers in their Surprize in relation to the Colony of GEORGIA, viz. *Those of* Great Britain, *who have never known this Part of the World but by Description; and those of* America: *The* First *are no doubt surprized, to think it possible, that so* pleasant and temperate *a Clime; so* fruitful *a Soil; such* extensive *Privileges; all which were publickly given out; and such considerable Sums of publick and private Benefactions, have* not *satisfied and enriched us: Them we refer to the* following Narrative *for* Satisfaction *The* American *Reader, on the other Hand, must be equally surprized to find that such Numbers should have been so* fooled *and* blindfolded, *as to expect to live in this Part of* America *by Cultivation of Lands without* Negroes, *and much more without Titles to their Lands, and laid under a* Load *of Grievances and Restrictions: And tho' these were redress'd, How could Persons in their Senses ever imagine, that* Fifty Acres of Pine-Barren, *not value Fifty Six pences in Property, (and whereof many Thousands may be purchased at half that Rate in the neighbouring Province) could maintain a Family of white People, and pay such Duties and Quit-Rents in a few Years, as the richest Grounds in* Carolina, *or other Provinces in* America *will never bear? To these last we shall only beg leave to observe, that such* fatal Artifice *was used, (we shall not say by whom) such* specious Pretences *were made use of, and such* real Falsities *advanced, and the* smallest Foundations *of Truth magnify'd to* Hyperbole; *that we, who had no Opportunity of knowing otherways, or means of learning the real Truth, and being void of all Suspicion of Artifice or Design, easily believed all these, and fell into the Decoy.*

THE Mind of Man is Naturally curious and enterprizing: we easily feed our Wishes into Realities, and affect and look upon every Novelty in the most favourable Light; how easy then is it, for Cunning and Artifice to lay hold on the weak Sides of our Fellow-Creatures, as we catch Fish with a Hook *baited to their particular* Gout?

TO prove this Charge, we shall only *transcribe some Passages from a Piece of* Prose, *and some from a Piece of* Poesie; *by which Specimens, the Reader may judge of some considerable Number which were dispers'd and vended of the same Stamp.*

THE First *are from a Pamphlet printed at* London, 1733, *entitled,* A new and accurate Account of the Provinces of South-Carolina and Georgia. *The Author has not thought fit to favour us with his Name; but it is easy to conceive, that we, who suspected no Artifice or Design, must conclude, that it came from the* best Authority, *from the Circumstances of its being dispersed publickly, and not being contradicted, and from the Author's intimate Acquaintance (at least so pretended) with all the Trustees Measures and Designs. After a high Encomium upon the Trustees,* Page 7, *he says,* 'The Air of Georgia is 'healthy, being always serene and pleasant, never subject to ex-'cessive Heat or Cold, or sudden Changes of Weather; the 'Winter is regular and short, and the Summer cooled with 'refreshing Breezes; it neither feels the cutting North-west 'Wind that the *Virginians* complain of, nor the intense Heats 'of *Spain*, *Barbary*, *Italy* and *Ægypt*. The soil will produce 'any Thing with very little Culture.'—*Page* 19, 'All sorts of 'Corn yield an amazing Increase; One Hundred fold is the 'common Estimate; tho' their Husbandry is so slight, that they 'can only be said to scratch the Earth, and meerly to cover the 'Seed: All the best sort of Cattle and Fowls are multiplied 'without Number, and therefore without a Price: Vines are 'Natives here.'—*Page* 21, 'The Woods near *Savannah* are 'not hard to be clear'd; many of them have no Under-Wood, 'and the Trees do not stand generally thick on the Ground, but 'at considerable Distances asunder: When you fall the Tim-'ber for Use, or to make Tar, the Root will rot in four or five 'Years; and in the mean Time you may Pasture the Ground; 'but if you would only destroy the Timber, it's done by half a 'Dozen Strokes of an Ax surrounding each Tree a little above 'the Root, in a Year or two the Water getting into the Wound 'rots the Timber, and a brisk Gust of Wind fells many Acres 'for you in an Hour, of which you may make one bright Bon-'fire. Such will be frequently here the Fate of the *Pine*, the '*Wall-nut*, the *Cypress*, the *Oak* and the *Cedar*. Such an Air 'and Soil can only be described by a Poetical Pen, because 'there is no Danger of exceeding the Truth; therefore take '*WALLER'S* Description of an Island in the Neighbourhood 'of Carolina, to give you an Idea of this happy Climate:

'The Spring which but salutes us, here,
'Inhabits there, and courts them all the Year'

' Ripe Fruits and Blossoms on the same Tree live;
' At once they promise what at once they give.
' So sweet the Air, so moderate the Clime,
' None sickly lives, or dies before his Time;
' Heav'n sure has kept this Spot of Earth uncurst,
' To shew how all Things were created first.

Page 27, ' The *Indians* bring many a Mile the whole Deer's ' Flesh, which they sell to the People who live in the Country, ' for the Value of *Six-pence* Sterling; and a Wild Turkey of ' Forty Pound weight, for the Value of *Two-pence.*'—*In Page* 32, *the Author when recommending the* Georgia *Adventure to Gentlemen of decayed Circumstances, who must labour at Home or do worse, states the following Objection, viz.* ' If such People ' can't get Bread here for their Labour, how will their Condition ' be mended in GEORGIA?' *Which he solves in the following Manner,*—'The Answer is easy; Part of it is well attested, and ' Part self-evident; they have Land there for Nothing, and that ' Land so fertile, that as is said before, they receive an Hundred ' fold Increase, for taking a very little Pains. Give here in *England* ten Acres of good Land to one of those helpless Persons, and I doubt not his Ability to make it sustain him, and ' by his own Culture, without letting it to another; but the ' Difference between no Rent and rack'd Rent, is the Difference between Eating and Starving.'—*Page* 32, ' These Trustees not only give Land to the Unhappy who go thither, ' but are also impowered to receive the voluntary Contributions ' of charitable Persons, to enable to furnish the poor Adventurers with all Necessaries for the Expence of their Voyage, ' occupying the Land, and supporting them till they find themselves comfortably settled; so that now the Unfortunate will ' not be obliged to bind themselves to a long Servitude to pay ' for their Passage; for they may be carried *gratis* into a Land ' of Liberty and Plenty, where they immediately find themselves ' in the Possession of a competent Estate, in an happier Climate ' than they knew before, and they are unfortunate indeed if here ' they cannot forget their Sorrows.'—*Nay, as if such Assertions as these were not powerful enough to influence poor People, Calculations are subjoin'd, to demonstrate, that a Family consisting of one poor Man, his Wife, and Child of seven Years old, may in* Georgia *earn sixty Pounds Sterling* per Annum, *and this abstracted from Silk, Wine,* &c—*Page* 41, ' Now this very ' Family in *Georgia*, by raising Rice and Corn sufficient for its ' Occasions, and by attending the Care of their Cattle and Land ' (which almost every one is able to do in some tolerable Degree ' for himself) will easily produce in gross Value the Sum of ' sixty Pounds Sterling *per Annum*: nor is this to be wondered

'at, because of the valuable Assistance it has from a fertile Soil 'and a Stock given *gratis;* which must always be remembred in 'this Calculation.

'The Calculation of One Hundred such Families when for- 'mally extended, stands thus,'—*Page* 43,

	l.	*s*	*d.*
'In *London* One Hundred poor Men earn	500	00.	0
'One Hundred Woman and, 'One Hundred Children,	500	00	0
	1000	00	0

'In *Georgia* an Hundred Families earn,

'One Hundred Men for Labour,	1200	00	0
'Ditto for Care of their Stock 'at leisure Hours,	1200	00	0
'One Hundred Woman and 'One Hundred Children,	2400	00	0
'Land and Stock in them- 'selves,	1200	00	0
Total,	6000	00	0

Q. E. D.

BUT we must conclude this Head, lest we tire the Reader. We shall now beg Leave to quote a few Poetical *Accounts of this* Paradise *of the World, and of the Fatherly Care and Protection we might depend on from Mr.* Oglethorpe. *An Hundred Hackney Muses might be instanced; but we shall confine ourselves to the celebrated Performance of the Rev. Mr.* Samuel Wesly, *where we might well expect a sufficient Stock of Truth and Religion, to counter-balance a Poetical Licence.* Vide *a Poem entitled,* GEORGIA, and Verses upon Mr. Oglethorpe's second Voyage to Georgia. *Printed* London, 1736.

'SEE where beyond the spacious Ocean lies
'A wide waste Land beneath the Southern Skies;
'Where kindly Suns for Ages roll'd in vain,
'Nor e'er the Vintage saw, or rip'ning Grain;
'Where all Things into wild Luxuriance ran,
'And Burthen'd Nature ask'd the Aid of Man.
'In this sweet Climate and prolifick Soil,
'He bids the eager Swain indulge his Toil;
'In free Possession to the Planter's Hand,
'Consigns the rich uncultivated Land.
'Go you, the Monarch cries, go settle there,
'Whom *Britain* from her Plenitude can spare;
'Go, your old wonted Industry pursue;
'Nor envy *Spain* the Treasures of *Peru.*
'———
'But not content in Council here to join,
'A further Labour Oglethorpe, is thine:
'In each great Deed thou claimst the foremost Part,
'And Toil and Danger charm thy gen'rous Heart.

‘ But chief for this thy warm Affections rise ;
‘ For oh ! thou view'st it with a Parent's Eyes:
‘ For this thou tempt'st the vast tremenduous Main,
‘ And Floods and Storms oppose their Threats in vain.
‘ — ———

‘ He comes, whose Life, while absent from your View,
‘ Was one continued Ministry for you ;
‘ For you were laid out all his Pains and Art,
‘ Won ev'ry Will and softened ev'ry Heart.
‘ With what paternal Joy shall he relate
‘ How views its Mother Isle your little State :
‘ Think while he strove your distant Coast to gain,
‘ How oft he sigh'd and chid the tedious Main !
‘ Impatient to survey, by Culture grac'd,
‘ Your dreary Wood-Land and your rugged Waste.
‘ Fair were the Scenes he feign'd, the Prospects fair ;
‘ And sure, ye *Georgians*, all he feign'd was their.
‘ A Thousand Pleasures crowd into his Breast ;
‘ But one, one mighty Thought absorbs the rest,
‘ And gives me Heav'n to see, the Patriot cries,
‘ Another BRITAIN in the Desert rise.
‘ ——— ——-

Again,

‘ With nobler Products see thy GEORGIA teems,
‘ Chear'd with the genial Sun's director Beams ;
‘ There the wild Vine to Culture learns to yield,
‘ And purple Clusters ripen through the Field.
‘ Now bid thy Merchants bring thy Wine no more
‘ Or from th' *Iberian* or the *Tuscan* Shore :
‘ No more they need th' *Hungarian* Vineyards drain,
‘ And *France* herself may drink her best *Champain*.
‘ Behold ! at last, and in a subject Land,
‘ Nectar sufficient for thy large Demand;
‘ Delicious Nectar, powerful to improve
‘ Our hospitable Mirth and social Love :
‘ This for thy jovial Sons.—Nor less the Care
‘ Of thy young Province, to oblige the FAIR ;
‘ Here tend the Silk Worm in the verdant Shade,
‘ The frugal Matron and the blooming Maid.

FROM the Whole, we doubt not, the Reader will look upon us as sufficiently punished for our Credulity: And indeed, who would not have been catch'd with such Promises, such Prospects? What might not the Poor Man flatter himself with, from such an Alteration in his Situation? And how much more might a Gentleman expect from a plentiful Stock of his own, and Numbers of Servants to set up with? Could a Person with the least Faith, have question'd the Committing his Interests to such Guardians, and such a tender Father as Mr. Oglethorpe *was believed to be? Whether he has acted that generous, that humane, that fatherly Part, the following* NARRATIVE *must determine.*

As for those Poetical Licences touching the Wine and Silk; we do not transcribe them as a Reflection upon the Author; but as a Satyr upon the Mismanagement of those Manufactures:

since no Measures were taken that seem'd really intended for their Advancement.

WE no wise question the Possibility of advancing such Improvements in Georgia, *with far less Sums of Money, properly applied, than the Publick has bestow'd: But not even the Flourishing of Wine and Silk, can make a Colony of* British Subjects *happy, if they are deprived of the Liberties and Properties of their Birth-right.*

WE have endeavour'd to the Utmost to be tender of Characters; but as we undertake to write an Account of Facts and Truths; there is no Help for it, when those Facts and Truths press home.

IT is a common Satisfaction to Sufferers, to expose to the Publick, the Rocks upon which they split, and the Misfortunes by which they suffered; and it may well be allow'd us, to publish the Causes to which we attribute the Ruin of that Settlement and ourselves; and more especially as we are Prosecutors for Justice from higher Powers; which we doubt not receiving as the Case deserves.

WE hope the Truth of the following Narrative, *will recommend itself to the Perusal of the candid Reader. The fatal Truths of this Tragedy hath already been sealed with the Death of Multitudes of our Fellow-Creatures; but still (Thanks to the Providence of the Almighty) some survive to attest and confirm the Truth of what is herein contain'd, against any Persons or Names, however great, however powerful. Our Circumstances and Sincerity will excuse our Want of that Politeness and Accuracy of Stile, which might have represented our Case to greater Advantage, to the* Courteous Reader, *whom we shall no longer detain from the Subject in Hand.*

A True and Historical

NARRATIVE, &c.

NOTHING is more difficult for Authors, than to divest themselves of Byass and Partiality, especially when they themselves are Parties or Sufferers in the Affair treated of.

IT is possible, this may be suppos'd the Case with us, the Publishers of this *Narrative*; it may be imagined, that the Hardships, Losses and Disappointments, we have met with in the Colony of *Georgia*, will naturally sour our Humours, and engage us to represent every Thing in the worst Light.

AS the Probability of those Surmises is very obvious to us, we have to the utmost of our Power, guarded against the weak Side of ourselves; and to convince the World of our Sincerity, shall no further descend into the Grievances of particular Persons, than is absolutely requisite for making our *General Narrative* intelligible; and to a faithful Detail of Publick Vouchers, Records, Extracts, Missives, Memorials and Representations, shall only adjoin so much of History, as may be necessary to recount the most material Events, and compleat the Connexion,

WE are hopeful, that an Information founded upon the strictest Truth, will effectually introduce any further Steps that Providence shall enable us to take towards procuring the Redress of our Grievances. While we had the least Hopes of Redress from our immediate Superiors and Patrons, we would not, and when we began to dispair of Relief by that Channel, we durst not, make Application to any other Tribunal, unless we would expose ourselves to the dreadful Effects of the Resentment of those who had before reduced us to Poverty by Oppression: And indeed, in all the Applications we made for Redress, we were brow-beat, obstructed, threatned, and branded with opprobrious Names, such as proud, idle, lazy, discontented and mutinous People, and several other Appellations of that kind; and were always afterwards harrassed by all Means whatsoever, several Instances of which, will appear to the Reader in the Sequel.

OUR late Retreat from that Confinement, to a *Land of Liberty*, puts it in our Power to speak the Truth; and tho' our Endeavours are too late to relieve the Dead, the Dying, and

those many now dispersed in all the Corners of his Majesty's Dominions; yet they may be the Means of ushering in Sympathy and Assistance to the Survivors, and to Multitudes of Widows and Orphans of the Deceas'd, from the Humane and Generous.

AS our sole Design is to give *a plain Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Colony of GEORGIA, from it's Rise to it's present Period;* we shall court no other Ornaments than those of Truth and Perspicuity; and shall endeavour to carry the Reader's Attention regularly, from the first to the last Motions we make mention of.

IN the Year 1732, His Majesty was pleased to erect, by His ROYAL CHARTER, into a separate Province, distinct from *South-Carolina*, that Space of Land lying between the Rivers *Savannah* and *Alatamaha*, under the Name of *GEORGIA*.

AS this Gracious Charter is the Basis and Foundation of all the Transactions relating to this Province, which have so much amus'd and perplex'd the World, and which our Endeavour is to set in a true Light; we cannot dispense with inserting the Charter at large, which we are confident, for many Reasons, will be acceptable to the Reader.

'GEORGE *the Second, by the Grace of GOD of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *KING, Defender of the Faith*, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. *WHEREAS* We are credibly informed, That many of Our poor Subjects are, through Misfortunes and Want of Employment, reduced to great Necessity, insomuch as by their Labour they are not able to provide a Maintenance for themselves and Families; and if they had Means to defray their Charges of Passage, and other Expences incident to new Settlements, they would be glad to settle in any of Our Provinces in *America;* where, by cultivating the Lands at present waste and desolate, they might not only gain a comfortable Subsistance for themselves and Families; but also strengthen Our Colonies, and increase the Trade, Navigation and Wealth of these Our Realms. *AND Whereas* Our Provinces in *North-America*, have been frequently ravaged by *Indian* Enemies; more especially that of *South Carolina;* which in the late War, by the Neighbouring Savages, was laid waste by Fire and Sword, and great Numbers of the *English* Inhabitants miserably massacred; and Our living Subjects who now inhabit there, by Reason of the Smallness of their Numbers, will, in Case of a new War, be exposed to the late Calamities; inasmuch as their whole Southern Frontier continueth unsettled, and lieth open to the said Savages: *AND whereas* We think it highly becoming

Our Crown and Royal Dignity, to protect all Our loving Subjects, be they never so distant from Us; to extend Our Fatherly Compassion even to the meanest and most infatuate of Our People, and to relieve the Wants of Our above mentioned poor Subjects; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those Ends, that a regular Colony of the said poor People be settled and established in the Southern Territories of *Carolina*; *AND Whereas* We have been well assured, That if We would be graciously pleased to erect and settle a Corporation, for the Receiving, Managing and Disposing of the Contributions of our loving Subjects; divers Persons would be induced to contribute to the Purposes aforesaid. *KNOW YE Therefore*, That WE have, for the Consideration aforesaid, and for the better and more orderly carrying on the said good Purposes, of Our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, Willed, Ordained, Constituted and Appointed, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, do Will, Ordain, Constitute, Declare and Grant, That Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved *John* Lord Viscount *Purcival*, of Our Kingdom of *Ireland*, Our Trusty and Well-beloved *Edward Digby*, *George Carpenter*, *James Oglethorpe*, *George Heathcote*, *Thomas Tower*, *Robert Moor*, *Robert Hucks*, *Roger Holland*, *William Sloper*, *Francis Eyles*, *John Laroche*, *James Vernon*, *William Beletha*, Esqrs. A. M. *John Burton*, B. D. *Richard Bundy*, A. M. *Arthur Beaford*, A. M. *Samuel Smith*, A. M. *Adam Anderson*, and *Thomas Coram*, Gentlemen, and such other Persons as shall be elected in the Manner herein after mentioned, and their Successors to be elected in the Manner herein after directed, be, and shall be one Body Politick and Corporate, in Deed and in Name, by the Name of *The Trustees for Establishing the Colony of* Georgia *in America*; and them and their Successors by the same Name, We do, by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, really and fully Make, Ordain, Constitute and Declare, to be one Body Politick in Deed and in Name forever; and that by the same Name, they and their Successors, shall and may have perpetual Succession; and that they and their Successors, by that Name, shall and may forever hereafter, be Persons able and capable in the Law, to purchase, have, take, receive and enjoy, to them and their Successors, any Manors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Advowsons, Liberties, Privileges, Jurisdictions, Franchises, and other Hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being in *Great Britain*, or any Part thereof, of whatsoever Nature, Kind or Quality, or Value they be, in Fee and in Perpetuity; not exceeding the Yearly Value of *One Thousand Pounds*, beyond

‘ Reprises; also Estates for Lives, and for Years; and all other
‘ manner of Goods, Chattels and Things whatsoever they be;
‘ for the better Settling and Supporting, and Maintaining the said
‘ Colony, and other Uses aforesaid; and to give, grant, let and
‘ demise the said Manors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Here-
‘ ditaments, Goods, Chattels and Things whatsoever aforesaid,
‘ by Lease or Leases, for Term of Years, in Possession at the
‘ Time of granting thereof, and not in Reversion, not exceeding
‘ the Term of *Thirty One* Years, from the Time of granting
‘ thereof; on which in case no Fine be taken, shall be reserved
‘ the Full; and in case a Fine be taken, shall be reserved at least
‘ a Moiety of the Value that the same shall reasonably and *bona*
‘ *fide*, be worth at the Time of such Demise; and that they and
‘ their Successors, by the Name aforesaid, shall and may forever
‘ hereafter, be Persons able, capable in the Law, to purchase,
‘ have, take, receive and enjoy, to them and their Successors,
‘ any Lands, Territories, Possessions, Tenements, Jurisdictions,
‘ Franchises and Hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being in
‘ *America*, of what Quantity, Quality or Value whatsoever they
‘ be, for the better settling and supporting, and maintaining the
‘ said Colony; and that by the Name aforesaid they shall and
‘ may be able to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, an-
‘ swer and be answered unto, defend and be defended in all
‘ Courts and places whatsoever, and before whatsoever Judges,
‘ Justices and other Officers, of Us, Our Heirs and Successors,
‘ in all and singular Actions, Plaints, Pleas, Matters, Suits and
‘ Demands, of what Kind, Nature or Quality soever they
‘ be; and to act and do all other Matters and Things in as ample
‘ Manner and Form as any other Our liege Subjects of this
‘ Realm of *Great Britain*, and that they and their Successors
‘ forever hereafter, shall and may have a *Common Seal* to serve,
‘ for the Causes and Businesses of them and their Successors;
‘ and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their Succes-
‘ sors, to change, break, alter and make new the said Seal, from
‘ Time to Time and at their Pleasure, as they shall think best.
‘ *AND We do further grant*, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors,
‘ That the said Corporation, and the Common Council of the
‘ said Corporation herein after by Us appointed, may from Time
‘ to Time, and at all Times, meet about their Affairs when and
‘ where they please, and transact and carry on the Business of
‘ the said Corporation. *And for the better Execution of the*
‘ *Purposes aforesaid*, *We do*, by these Presents, for Us, Our
‘ Heirs and Successors, *give and grant* to the said Corporation,
‘ and their Successors, That they and their Successors forever,
‘ may upon the *third Thursday* in the Month of *March* year-

ly, meet at some convenient Place to be appointed by the said Corporation, or major Part of them who shall be present at any Meeting of the said Corportion, to be had for the appointing of the said Place; and that they, or *two Thirds* of such of them that shall be present at such Yearly Meeting, and at no other Meeting of the said Corporation, between the Hours of *Ten* in the Morning and *Four* in the Afternoon of the same Day, chuse and elect such Person or Persons to be Members of the said Corporation, as they shall think beneficial to the good Designs of the said Corporation. *And Our further Will and Pleasure is*, That if it shall happen that any Persons herein after by Us appointed as the Common Council of the said Corporation, or any Persons to be elected or admitted Members of the said Common Council in the Manner hereafter directed, shall die, or shall by Writing under his and their Hands respectively resign his or their Office or Offices of Common Council Man or Common Council Men; the said Corporation, or the major Part of such of them as shall be present, shall and may at such Meeting, on the said *third Thursday* in *March* Yearly, in Manner as aforesaid, next after such Death or Resignation, and at no other Meeting of the said Corporation, into the room or place of such Person or Persons so dead or so resigning, elect and chuse one or more such Person or Persons, being Members of the said Corporation, as to them shall seem meet: *And Our Will is*, That all and every the Person or Persons which shall from Time to Time hereafter be elected Common Council Men of the said Corporation as aforesaid, do and shall, before he or they act as Common Council Men of the said Corporation, take an Oath for the faithful and due Execution of their Office; which Oath the President of the said Corporation for the Time being, is hereby authorized and required to administer to such Person or Persons elected as aforesaid. *And Our Will and Pleasure is*, That the first President of the said Corporation is and shall be Our Trusty and Well-beloved the said *John* Lord Viscount *Purcival;* and that the said President shall, within *Thirty* Days after the passing this CHARTER, cause a Summons to be issued to the several Members of the said Corporation herein particularly named, to meet at such Time and Place as he shall appoint, to consult about and transact the Businesses of the said Corporation. *And Our Will and Pleasure is, and We*, by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *grant, ordain and direct*, That the Common Council of this Corporation, shall consist of *Fifteen* in Number; *and* We do, by these Presents, nominate, constitute and appoint Our Right

‘ Trusty and Well-beloved *John* Lord Viscount *Purcival*, Our
‘ Trusty and Beloved *Edward Digby*, *George Carpenter*,
‘ *James Oglethorpe*, *George Heathcote*, *Thomas Laroche*, *James*
‘ *Vernon*, *William Beletha*, Esqrs. and *Stephen Hales*, Master
‘ of Arts, to be the Common Council of the said Corporation,
‘ to continue in the said Office during their good Behaviour.
‘ *AND Whereas it is Our Royal Intention*, That the Members
‘ of the said Corporation should be encreased by Election, as
‘ soon as conveniently may be, to a greater Number than is
‘ hereby nominated; *Our further Will and Pleasure is*, *and*
‘ *We do hereby*, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *ordain and*
‘ *direct*, That from the Time of such Increase of the Members
‘ of the said Corporation, the Number of the Common Council
‘ shall be increased to *Twenty four*; and that the same Assembly
‘ at which such additional Members of the said Corporation shall
‘ be chosen, there shall likewise be elected, in the Manner herein
‘ before directed for the Election of Common Council Men,
‘ *Nine* Persons to be the said Common Council Men, and to
‘ make up the Number *Twenty four*. *And Our further Will*
‘ *and Pleasure is*, That Our Trusty and Well-beloved *Edward*
‘ *Digby*, Esq. shall be the first Chairman of the Common
‘ Council of the said Corporation; and that the said Lord Vis-
‘ count *Purcival* shall be and continue President of the said
‘ Corporation; and that the said *Edward Digby* shall be and
‘ continue Chairman of the Common Council of the said Cor-
‘ poration, respectively, until the Meeting which shall be had
‘ next and immediately after the first Meeting of the said Cor-
‘ poration, or of the Common Council of the said Corporation
‘ respectively, and no longer: At which said second Meeting,
‘ and every other subsequent and future Meeting of the said
‘ Corporation, or of the Common Council of the said Corpora-
‘ tion respectively, in order to preserve an indifferent Rotation
‘ of the several Officers of President of the Corporation, and of
‘ Chairman of the Common Council of the said Corporation;
‘ *We do direct and ordain*, That all and every the Person and
‘ Persons Members of the said Common Council for the Time
‘ being, and no other, being present at such Meetings, shall seve-
‘ rally and respectively in their Turns, preside at the Meetings
‘ which shall from Time to Time be held of the said Corpora-
‘ tion, or of the Common Council of the said Corporation res-
‘ pectively: And in case any Doubt or Question shall at any
‘ Time arise touching or concerning the Right of any Member
‘ of the said Common Council to preside, at any Meeting of the
‘ said Corporation, or at the Common Council of the said Cor-
‘ poration, the same shall respectively be determined by the

major part of the said Corporation, or of the Common Council of the said Corporation respectively, who shall be present at such Meeting. *Provided always*, That no Member of the said Common Council having served in the Offices of *President of the said Corporation*, or of *Chairman of the Common Council of the said Corporation*, shall be capable of being or of serving as President or Chairman at any Meeting of the said Corporation or Common Council of the said Corporation next and immediately ensuing that in which he so served as President of the said Corporation, or Chairman of the said Common Council of the said Corporation respectively; unless it shall so happen, that at any such Meeting of the said Corporation there shall not be any other Member of the said Common Council present. *And Our Will and Pleasure is*, That at all and every of the Meetings of the said Corporation, or of the Common Council of the said Corporation the President or Chairman for the Time being, shall have a Voice and shall vote and shall act as a Member of the said Corporation, or of the Common Council of the said Corporation, at such Meeting; and in case of any Equality of Votes, the said President or Chairman for the Time being, shall have a Lasting Vote. *And Our further Will and Pleasure is*, That no President of the said Corporation, or Chairman of the Common Council of the said Corporation, or Member of the said Common Council or Corporation, by Us by these Presents appointed, or hereafter from Time to time to be elected and appointed in manner aforesaid, shall have, take or receive, directly, or indirectly any Salary, Fee, Perquisite, Benefit or Profit whatsoever, for or by Reason of his or their serving the said Corporation, or Common Council of the said Corporation, or President, Chairman or Common Council Man, or as being a Member of the said Corporation. *And Our will and Pleasure is*, That the said herein before appointed President, Chairman or Common Council Men, before he and they act respectively as such, shall severally take an Oath for the faithful and due Execution of their Trust, to be administred to the President by the *Chief Baron of Our Court of Exchequer*, for the Time being, and by the President of the said Corporation to the rest of the Common Council, who are hereby authorized severally and respectively, to administer the same. *And Our Will and Pleasure is*, That all and every Person and Persons who shall have, in his or their own Name or Names, or in the Name or Names of any Person or Persons in Trust for him or them, or for his or their Benefit, any Office, Place or Employment of Profit, under the said Corporation, shall be incapable of being

elected a Member of the said Corporation; and if any Member of the said Corporation, during such Time as he shall continue a Member thereof, shall in his own Name, or in the Name of any Person or Persons in Trust for him, or for his Benefit, have, hold, exercise, accept, possess or enjoy any Office, Place or Employment of Profit under the said Corporation, or under the Common Council of the said Corporation; such Member shall from the Time of his having, holding, exercising, accepting, possessing and enjoying such Office, Place and Employment of Profit, cease to be a Member of the said Corporation. *And We do*, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *grant* unto the said Corporation and their Successors, That they and their Successors, or the major part of such of them as shall be present at any Meeting of the said Corporation, conven'd and assembled for that Purpose by a convenient Notice thereof, shall have Power from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter, to authorize and appoint such Persons as they shall think fit, to take Subscriptions, and to gather and collect such Monies as shall be by any Person or Persons contributed for the Purposes aforesaid, and shall and may revoke and make void such Authorities and Appointments as often as they shall see Cause so to do. *And We do hereby*, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, *ordain and direct*, That the said Corporation every Year lay an Account in Writing before the *Chancellor* or *Speaker* or *Commissioners for the Custody of the Great Seal* of *Great Britain*, of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, the *Chief Justice of the Court of Kings-Bench*, the *Master of the Rolls*, the *Chief Justice of the Court of Common-Pleas*, and the *Chief Baron of the Exchequer*, of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, for the Time being, or any *Two* of them, of all Monies and Effects by them received or expended for the carrying on the good Purposes aforesaid. *And We do hereby*, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *give and grant* unto the said Corporation and their Successors, full Power and Authority to constitute, ordain and make such and so many *By-Laws*, *Constitutions*, *Orders* and *Ordinances*, as to them or the greater part of them, at their General Meeting for that Purpose, shall seem necessary and convenient for the well Ordering and Governing of the said Corporation, and the said *By-Laws*, *Constitutions*, Orders and *Ordinances*, or any of them, to alter and annul as they or the major part of them then present shall see requisite; and in and by such *By-Laws*, *Rules*, *Orders* and *Ordinances*, to set, impose and inflict reasonable Pains and Penalties upon any Offender or Offenders who shall transgress, break or violate the said *By Laws*.

'*Constitutions*, *Orders* and *Ordinances*, so made as aforesaid. 'and to mitigate the same as they or the major part of them 'then present shall think convenient; which said Pains and 'Penalties shall and may be levied, sued for, taken, retained 'and recovered by the said Corporation and their Successors, 'by their Officers and Servants from Time to Time to be 'appointed for that Purpose, by Action of Debt, or by any 'other lawful Ways or Means, to the Use and Behoof of the 'said Corporation and their Successors; all and singular which '*By-Laws*, *Constitutions*, *Orders* and *Ordinances*, so as afore-'said to be made, WE WILL, shall be duly observed and kept, 'under the Pains and Penalties therein to be contained, so always, 'as the said *By-Laws*, *Constitutions*, *Orders* and *Ordinances*, '*Pains* and *Penalties*, from Time to Time to be made and impos-'ed, be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant to the *Laws* or '*Statutes* of this Our Realm; and that such *By-Laws*, *Constitu-'tions* and *Ordinances*, *Pains* and *Penalties*, from Time to Time 'to be made and imposed; and any *Repeal* or *Alteration* thereof, 'or any of them, be likewise agreed to, be established and con-'firmed by the said General Meeting of the said Corporation, to 'be held and kept next after the same shall be respectively made. '*AND WHEREAS* the said Corporation intend to settle a 'Colony, and to make an Habitation and Plantation in that Part 'of Our Province of *South-Carolina* in *America*, herein after 'described; *KNOW YE*, *That We*, greatly desiring the happy 'Success of the said Corporation, *for their further Encourage-'ment* in accomplishing so excellent a Work, *Have*, of Our 'foresaid Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, *Given 'and Granted*, *and* by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and 'Successors, *do Give and Grant* to the said Corporation and 'their Successors, under the Reservation, Limitation and Decla-'ration hereafter expressed, *Seven undivided Parts*, the Whole 'in *Eight equal Parts* to be divided, of all those Lands, Coun-'tries and Territories situate, lying and being in that Part of '*South-Carolina*, in *America*, which lies from the most Northern 'part of a Stream or River there, commonly called *The Savan-'nah*, all along the Sea Coast to the Southward, unto the most 'Southern Stream of a certain other great Water or River call-'ed *The Alatamaha*, and Westerly from the Heads of the said 'Rivers respectively in direct Lines to the *South Seas;* and all 'that Share, Circuit and Precinct of Land within the said Boun-'daries, with the Islands on the Sea lying opposite to the Eastern 'Coast of the said Lands, within *Twenty* Leagues of the same, 'which are not inhabited already, or settled by any Authority 'derived from the Crown of *Great Britain*, together with all

‘ the Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Gulphs and Bays, Mines,
‘ as well Royal Mines of Gold and Silver as other Minerals,
‘ precious Stones, Quarries, Woods, Rivers, Waters, Fishings,
‘ as well Royal Fishings of Whale and Sturgeon as other Fishings,
‘ Pearls, Commodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Franchises, Pri-
‘ vileges and Pre-eminencies within the said Frontiers and
‘ Precincts thereof, and thereunto in any sort belonging or
‘ appertaining, and which We by Our *Letter Patents* may or can
‘ grant; and in as ample Manner and Sort as We may, or any
‘ Our Royal Progenitors have hitherto granted to any Company,
‘ Body, Politick or Corporate, or to any Adventurer or Adven-
‘ turers, Undertaker or Undertakers of any Discoveries, Planta-
‘ tions or Traffick of, in, or unto, any Foreign Parts whatsoever,
‘ and in as legal and ample Manner as if the same were herein
‘ particularly mentioned and expressed: *To have, hold, possess*
‘ and *enjoy* the said *Seven undivided Parts*, the Whole into
‘ *Eight equal Parts* to be divided as aforesaid, of all and singu-
‘ lar the Lands, Countries and Territories, with all and singular
‘ other the Premises herein before by these Presents granted, or
‘ mentioned or intended to be granted to them the said Corpora-
‘ tion and their Successors, *for ever*, for the better Support of
‘ the said Colony; to be holden of Us, Our Heirs and Succes-
‘ sors, as of Our Honour of *Hampton-Court*, in Our County of
‘ *Middlesex*, in free and common Soccage, and not in Capite;
‘ *Yielding and Paying therefor* to Us, Our Heirs and Succes-
‘ sors, Yearly for ever, the Sum of *Four Shillings* for every
‘ *Hundred* Acres of the said Lands which the said Corporation
‘ shall grant, demise, plant or settle; the said Payment not to
‘ commence or to be made until *Ten* Years after such Grant,
‘ Demise, Planting or Settling, and to be answered and paid to
‘ Us, Our Heirs and Successors, in such Manner, and in such
‘ Species of Money or Notes as shall be current in Payment
‘ by *Proclamation* from Time to Time in Our said Province of
‘ *South Carolina*; all which Lands, Countries, Territories and
‘ Premises hereby granted, or mentioned and intended to be
‘ granted, *We do*, by these Presents, *make, erect and create*,
‘ One independant and separate Province by the Name of
‘ *GEORGIA*, by which Name, WE WILL, the same hence-
‘ forth be called; and that all and every Person or Persons who
‘ shall at any Time hereafter inhabit or reside within Our said
‘ Province, shall be and are *hereby declared* to be free, and shall
‘ not be subject to or be bound to obey any Laws, Orders,
‘ Statutes or Constitutions which have been heretofore made,
‘ ordered and enacted, or which hereafter shall be made, ordered
‘ or enacted by, for or as the Laws, Orders, Statutes or Consti-

‘ tutions of Our said Province of *South-Carolina* (save and
‘ except only the Command in Chief of the Militia of Our said
‘ Province of *Georgia*, to Our Governor for the Time being
‘ of *South-Carolina*, in Manner hereafter declared) but shall be
‘ subject to and bound to obey such Laws, Orders, Statutes and
‘ Constitutions as shall from Time to Time be made, ordered and
‘ enacted, for the better Government of the said Province of
‘ *Georgia*, in the Manner herein after declared. *And We do*
‘ *hereby*, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *ordain*, *will and*
‘ *establish*, That for and during the Term of *Twenty-one* Years,
‘ to commence from the Date of these Our *Letters Patent*, the
‘ said Corporation assembled for that Purpose, shall and may
‘ form and prepare *Laws*, *Statutes* and *Ordinances*, fit and ne-
‘ cessary for and concerning the Government of the said Colony,
‘ and not repugnant to the *Laws* and *Statutes* of *England*, and
‘ the same shall and may present, under their *Common Seal*, to
‘ Us, Our Heirs and Successors, in Our or Their Privy Council,
‘ for Our or Their Approbation or Disallowance; and the said
‘ *Laws*, *Statutes* and *Ordinances* being approved of by Us, Our
‘ Heirs and Successors, in Our or Their Privy-Council, shall
‘ from thenceforth be in full Force and Virtue within Our said
‘ Province of *Georgia*. *AND FORASMUCH* as the good
‘ and prosperous Success of the said Colony, cannot but chiefly
‘ depend, next under the Blessing of GOD and the Support of
‘ Our Royal Authority, upon the provident and good Direction
‘ of the whole Enterprize; *and* that it will be too great a Bur-
‘ then upon all the Members of the said Corporation, to be con-
‘ vened so often as may be requisite to hold Meetings for the
‘ Settling, Supporting, Ordering and Maintaining the said Co-
‘ lony: *Therefore We do will, ordain and establish*, That the
‘ said Common Council for the Time being, of the said Corpo-
‘ ration, being Assembled for that Purpose, or the major part of
‘ them, shall from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter, have
‘ full Power and Authority to dispose of, extend and apply all
‘ the Monies and Effects belonging to the said Corporation, in
‘ such Manner and Ways, and by such Expences as they shall
‘ think best to conduce to the carrying on and effecting the good
‘ Purposes herein mentioned and intended: *And also*, shall
‘ have full Power, in the Name and on the Account of the said
‘ Corporation, and with and under their *Common Seal*, to enter
‘ under any Covenants or Contracts for carrying on and effecting
‘ the Purposes aforesaid. *And Our further Will and Pleasure*
‘ *is*, That the said Common Council for the Time being, or the
‘ major part of such Common Council which shall be present and
‘ assembled for that Purpose, from Time to Time and at all

‘ Times hereafter, shall and may nominate, constitute and appoint
‘ a Treasurer or Treasurers, Secretary or Secretaries, and such
‘ other Officers, Ministers and Servants of the said Corporation,
‘ as to them or the major part of them as shall be present shall
‘ seem proper or requisite for the good Management of their
‘ Affairs; *and* at their Will and Pleasure to displace, remove and
‘ put out such Treasurer or Treasurers, Secretary or Secretaries,
‘ and all such other Officers, Ministers and Servants, as often as
‘ they shall think fit so to do, and others in the Room, Office,
‘ Place or Station of him or them so displaced, removed or put
‘ out, to nominate, constitute and appoint; and shall and may
‘ determine and appoint such reasonable Salaries, Perquisites and
‘ other Rewards for their Labour, or Service of such Officers,
‘ Servants and Persons, as to the said Common Council shall
‘ seem meet; and all such Officers, Servants and Persons shall,
‘ before the acting their respective Offices, take an Oath, to be
‘ to them administred by the Chairman for the Time being of the
‘ said Common Council of the said Corporation, who is hereby
‘ authorized to administer the same, for the faithful and due
‘ Execution of their respective Offices and Places. *And Our*
‘ *Will and Pleasure is,* That all such Person and Persons who
‘ shall from Time to Time be chosen or appointed Treasurer or
‘ Treasurers, Secretary or Secretaries of the said Corporation, in
‘ Manner herein after directed, shall, during such Times as they
‘ shall serve in the said Offices respectively, be incapable of
‘ being a Member of the said Corporation. *And We do further,*
‘ of Our special Grace, certain Knowledge and mere Motion, for
‘ Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *grant,* by these Presents, to
‘ the said Corporation and their Successors, That it shall be
‘ lawful for them and their Officers or Agents, at all Times
‘ hereafter, to transport and convey out of Our Realm of *Great*
‘ *Britain,* or any other Our Dominions, into the said Province
‘ of *Georgia,* to be there settled, and so many of Our loving
‘ Subjects, or any Foreigners that are willing to become Our
‘ Subjects and live under Our Allegiance in the said Colony, as
‘ shall be willing to go to inhabit or reside there, with sufficient
‘ Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Powder, Shot, Ordnance, Muni-
‘ tion, Victuals, Merchandize and Wares, as are esteem'd by the
‘ *wild People,* Cloathing, Implements, Furniture, Cattle, Horses,
‘ Mares, and all other Things necessary for the said Colony, and
‘ for the Use and Defence, and Trade with the People there,
‘ and in passing and returning to and from the same. *Also We*
‘ *do,* for Ourselves and Successors, *declare,* by these Presents,
‘ That all and every the Persons which shall happen to be born
‘ within the said Province, and every of their Children and

‘ Posterity, shall have and enjoy all *Liberties*, *Franchises* and
‘ *Immunities* of *Free Denizons* and *Natural Born Subjects*,
‘ within any of Our Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as
‘ if abiding and born within this Our Kingdom of *Great-Britain*,
‘ or any other Dominion. *AND* for the greater Ease and
‘ Encouragement of Our loving Subjects, and such others as shall
‘ come to inhabit in Our said Colony, *We do*, by these Presents,
‘ for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *grant, establish and ordain*,
‘ That for ever hereafter, there shall be a LIBERTY OF CON-
‘ SCIENCE allowed in the *Worship of GOD*, to all Persons
‘ inhabiting or which shall inhabit or be resident within Our
‘ said Province, and that all such Persons, except *Papists*, shall
‘ have *a free Exercise of Religion;* so they be contented with
‘ the quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of the same, not giving
‘ Offence or Scandal to the Government. *And Our further*
‘ *Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby*, for Us, Our Heirs
‘ and Successors, *declare and grant*, That it shall and may be
‘ lawful for the said Common Council, or the major part of them
‘ assembled for that Purpose, in the Name of the Corporation,
‘ and under the *Common Seal*, to distribute, convey, assign and
‘ set over such particular Portions of Lands, Tenements and
‘ Hereditaments by these Presents granted to the said Corpora-
‘ tion, unto such of Our loving Subjects Naturally born or
‘ Denizons, or others, that shall be willing to become Our Sub-
‘ jects, and live under Our Allegiance in the said Colony, upon
‘ *such Terms*, and for *such Estates*, and upon *such Rents, Reser-*
‘ *vations* and *Conditions* as the same may be lawfully granted,
‘ and as to the said Common Council, or the major part of them
‘ so present, shall seem fit and proper. *Provided always*, That
‘ no Grants shall be made of any Part of the said Lands unto
‘ any Person being *a Member of the said Corporation*, or to
‘ any other Person in Trust for the Benefit of *any Member of*
‘ *the said Corporation;* and that no Person having any Estate or
‘ Interest in Law or Equity in any Part of the said Lands, shall
‘ be capable of being *a Member of the said Corporation*, during
‘ the Continuance of such Estate or Interest. *Provided also*,
‘ That no greater Quantity of Lands be granted, either entirely
‘ or in parcels, to or for the Use or in Trust for any one Person
‘ than *Five Hundred* Acres; and that all Grants made contrary
‘ to the true Intent and Meaning hereof, shall be absolutely null
‘ and void. *And We do hereby grant and ordain*, That such
‘ Person or Persons for the Time being, as shall be thereunto
‘ appointed by the said Corporation, shall and may at all Times,
‘ and from Time to Time hereafter, have full Power and Author-
‘ ity to administer and give *the Oaths* appointed by an *Act of*

'*Parliament* made in the First Year of the Reign of Our late
'Royal Father, to be taken instead of *the Oaths of Allegiance*
'and *Supremacy;* and also *the Oath of Abjuration*, to all and
'every Person and Persons which shall at any Time be inhabit-
'ing or residing within Our said Colony; and in like Cases to
'administer *the solemn Affirmation* to any of the Persons com-
'monly called *Quakers*, in such Manner as by the Laws of Our
'Realm of *Great Britain* the same may be administred. *And*
'*We do*, of Our further Grace, certain Knowledge and mere
'Motion, *grant, establish and ordain*, for Us, Our Heirs and
'Successors, That the said Corporation and their Successors,
'shall have full Power and Authority for and during the Term
'of *Twenty one* Years, to commence from the Date of these
'Our *Letters Patent*, to erect and constitute *Judicaturies* and
'*Courts of Record*, or other Courts, to be held in the Name of
'Us, Our Heirs and Successors, for the Hearing and Determin-
'ing of all Manner of Crimes, Offences, Pleas, Processes, Plaints,
'Actions, Matters, Causes and Things whatsoever, arising or
'happening within the said Province of *Georgia* or between Per-
'sons of *Georgia;* whether the same be *criminal* or *civil*, and
'whether the said Crimes be *Capital* or *not Capital*, and whether
'the said Pleas be *real, personal* or *mixed;* and for Awarding and
'Making out Executions thereupon; To which Courts and Judi-
'caturies, *We do hereby*, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *give*
'*and grant* full Power and Authority, from Time to Time, to ad-
'minister Oaths for the Discovery of Truth, in any Matter in con-
'troversy or depending before them, or the *solemn Affirmation* to
'any of the Persons commonly called *Quakers*, in such Manner
'as by the Laws of Our Realm of *Great Britain* the same may
'be administred. *And Our further Will and Pleasure is*,
'That the said Corporation and their Successors, do from Time
'to Time and at all Times hereafter, Register or cause to be Re-
'gistered all such Leases, Grants, Plantings, Conveyances, Set-
'tlements and Improvements whatsoever, as shall at any Time
'hereafter be made by or in the Name of the said Corporation,
'of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments within the said
'Province; and shall Yearly send and transmit, or cause to be
'sent or transmitted, authentick Accounts of such Leases, Grants,
'Conveyances, Settlements and Improvements respectively,
'unto *the Auditor of the Plantations* for the Time being, or *his*
'*Deputy*, and also to *Our Surveyor* for the Time being of Our
'said Province of *South-Carolina*, to whom *We do hereby grant*
'full Power and Authority from Time to Time, as often as Need
'shall require, to inspect and survey such of the said Lands and
'Premises as shall be demised, granted and settled as aforesaid.

' which said Survey and Inspection, *We do hereby declare* to be
' intended to ascertain the *Quit-Rents* which shall from Time to
' Time become due to Us, Our Heirs and Successors, according
' to the Reservations herein before mentioned, and for no other
' Purposes whatsoever; *hereby*, for Us, Our Heirs and Succes-
' sors; *strictly enjoyning and commanding*, That neither Our or
' Their Surveyor, or any Person whatsoever, under the Pretext
' and Colour of making the said Survey or Inspection, shall take,
' demand or receive any Gratuity, Fee or Reward of or from
' any Person or Persons inhabiting in the said Colony, or from
' the said Corporation or Common Council of the same, on the
' Pain of Forefeiture of the said Office or Offices, and incur-
' ring Our highest Displeasure. *Provided always, and Our*
' *further Will and Pleasure is*, That all Leases, Grants and
' Conveyances to be made by or in the Name of the said Corpo-
' ration, of any Lands within the said Province, or a Memorial
' containing the Substance and Effect thereof, shall be registered
' with *the Auditor of the said Plantations*, of Us, Our Heirs
' and Successors, within the Space of *One* Year, to be computed
' from the Date thereof, otherwise the same shall be void.
' *And Our further Will and Pleasure is*, That the Rents,
' Issues and all other Profits which shall at any Time hereafter
' come to the said Corporation, or the major part of them which
' shall be present at any Meeting for that Purpose assembled,
' shall think will most improve and enlarge the said Colony,
' and best answer the good Purposes herein before mentioned,
' and for defraying all other Charges about the same. *And Our*
' *Will and Pleasure is*, That the said Corporation and their
' Successors, shall from Time to Time give in to one of *the*
' *Principal Secretaries of State* and to *the Commissioners of*
' *Trade and Plantations*, Accounts of the Progresses of the said
' Colony. *And Our Will and Pleasure is*, That no Act done
' at any Meeting of the said Common Council of the said Cor-
' poration, shall be effectual and valid, unless *Eight* Members
' at least of the said Common Council, including the Member
' who shall serve as Chairman at the said Meeting, be present,
' and the major part of them consenting thereunto. *And Our*
' *Will and Pleasure is*, That the Common Council of the said
' Corporation for the Time being, or the major part of them
' who shall be present, being assembled for that Purpose,
' shall from Time to Time, for and during and unto the full
' End and Expiration of *Twenty One* Years, to commence
' from the Date of these Our *Letters Patent*, have full Power
' and Authority to nominate, make, constitute, commission,
' ordain and appoint, by such Name or Names, Stile or Stiles.

as to them shall seem meet and fitting, all and singular such Governours, Judges, Magistrates, Ministers and Officers, Civil and Military, both by Sea and Land, within the said Districts, as shall by them be thought fit and needful to be made or used for the said Government of the said Colony; *save always* and except such Officers only as shall by Us, Our Heirs and Successors, be from Time to Time constituted and appointed, for the Managing, collecting and Receiving such *Revenues* as shall from Time to Time arise within the said Province of *Georgia*, and become due to Us, Our Heirs and Successors. *Provided always, and it is Our Will and Pleasure*, That every Governor of the said Province of *Georgia*, to be appointed by the Common Council of the said Corporation, before he shall enter upon or execute the said Office of Governor, shall be approved by Us, Our Heirs, or Successors, and shall take such Oaths and shall qualify himself in such Manner in all Respects, as any Governor or Commander in Chief of any of Our Colonies or Plantations in *America*, are by Law required to do; and shall give good and sufficient Security for observing the several Acts of Parliament relating to *Trade* and *Navigation*, and to observe and obey all Instructions that shall be sent to him by Us, Our Heirs and Successors, or any acting under Our or Their Authority, pursuant to the said Acts, or any of them. *And We do*, by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *will, grant and ordain*, That the said Corporation and their Successors, shall have full Power for and during and until the full End and Term of *Twenty One* Years, to commence from the Date of these Our *Letters Patent*, by any Commander or other Officer or Officers by them for that Purpose from Time to Time appointed, to train, instruct, exercise and govern a Militia for the special Defence and Safety of Our said Colony, to assemble in Martial-Array, the Inhabitants of the said Colony, and to lead and conduct them, and with them to encounter, expulse, repel resist and pursue, by Force of Arms, as well by Sea as by Land within or Without the Limits of Our said Colony; and also to kill, slay and destroy, and conquer, by all fighting Ways, Enterprizes and Means whatsoever, all and every such Person or Persons as shall at any Time hereafter in any hostile Manner attempt or enterprize the Destruction, Invasion, Detriment or Annoyance of Our said Colony; and to use and exercise the Martial-Law in Time of actual War and Invasion or Rebellion, in such Cases where by Law the same may be used or exercised; and also from Time to Time to erect Forts and fortify any Place or Places within Our said Colony, and the same to furnish with all necessary Ammunition, Provisions and Stores of War, for

Offence and Defence, and to commit from Time to Time the Custody or Government of the same to such Person or Persons as to them shall seem meet; and the said Forts and Fortifications to demolish at their Pleasure; and to take and surprize, by all Ways and Means, all and every such Person or Persons, with their Ships, Arms, Ammunition and other Goods, as shall in an hostile Manner invade or attempt the Invading, Conquering or Annoying of Our said Colony. *And Our Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby*, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *declare and grant*, That the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of *South-Carolina*, of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, for the Time being, shall at all Times hereafter have the chief Command of the Militia of Our said Province hereby erected and established; and that such Militia shall observe and obey all Orders and Directions that shall from Time to Time be given or sent them by the said Governor or Commander in Chief, any Thing in these Presents before contained to the Contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. *And*, of Our more special Grace, certain Knowledge and mere Motion, *We have given and granted, and* by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *do give and grant* unto the said Corporation and their Successors, full Power and Authority to import and export their Goods at and from any Port or Ports that shall be appointed by Us, Our Heirs and Successors, within the said Province of *Georgia* for that Purpose, without being obliged to touch at any other Port in *South-Carolina*. *And We do*, by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *will and declare*, That from and after the Determination of the said Term of *One and Twenty* Years such *Form of Government* and *Method of making Laws, Statutes and Ordinances*, for *the better Governing and Ordering the said Province of* Georgia, *and the Inhabitants thereof*, shall be established and observed within the same, as We, Our Heirs and Successors, shall hereafter ordain and appoint, and shall be agreeable to Law; and that from and after the Determination of the said Term of *One and Twenty* Years, the *Governor* of Our said Province of *Georgia*, and all *Officers* Civil and Military within the same, shall from Time to Time be nominated and constituted and appointed by Us, Our Heirs and Successors. *AND LASTLY, We do hereby*, for Us, Our Heirs and Successors, *grant* unto the said Corporation and their Successors, That these Our *Letters Patent*, or the Enrollments or Exemplification thereof, shall be in and by all Things, good, firm, valid, sufficient and effectual in the Law, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, and shall be taken, construed and adjudged in all Courts and elsewhere, in the most favour-

' able and beneficial Sense, and for the best Advantage of the ' said Corporation and their Successors, any Omission, Imperfec- ' tion, Defect, Matter or Cause or Thing whatsoever to the ' Contrary in any wise notwithstanding. *IN WITNESS We* ' *have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent.* Witness ' *Our Self at* Westminster, *the* Ninth *Day of* June, *in the* ' Fifth *Year of Our Reign.*

By Writ of Privy Seal.
COOKS.

THE gracious Purposes and ample Privileges contain'd in the foregoing CHARTER, are so obvious to every Reader, that we need only say, they were suitable to a most generous and humane *British Monarch;* and had the Settlement of the Colony of *Georgia* been carried on conformable thereto, and no other Restrictions or Reservations made, than what are therein mentioned; then would the Colony at this Time have been in a flourishing Condition, answerable to all those glorious Ends that were proposed and expected from it: But on the Contrary, Laws and Restrictions being made, such as were never heard of in any *British Settlement*, the Colony is brought to the present melancholy Situation. But we shall say no more at present on this Head, than what Mr. *Oglethorpe* said in Parliament relating to the Charitable Corporation, *viz.* * *The better the Design was, the more those deserve to be punished who have disappointed the Publick of Reaping the Benefits that might have accrued from it.*

INHABITANTS of all sorts, *Roman Catholicks* only excepted, from all Parts of the World, were invited to possess this *promised Land;* and large Sums of Money from the Parliament, as well as Contributions from private and publick Charity, were collected; the County was laid out as an *Earthly Paradise*; the Soil far surpassing that of *England*; the Air healthy, always serene, pleasant and temperate, never subject to excessive Heat or Cold, nor to sudden Changes.

IT was particularly set forth, and with a Shew of Reason enough, that this proposed Settlement could not fail of succeeding, when the Nation was so *bountiful;* the King *so gracious;* || the Trustees so *disinterested* and *honourable*, who had, for the Benefit of Mankind, given up that Ease and Indolence to which they were entitled by their Fortunes and the too prevalent Custom of their Native Country; and withal, being able, by seeing the Mistakes and Failures of other Colonies, both to avoid and

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* Vide Lond. Mag. p. 379.

|| Vide a Pamphlet, entitled, *A new and accurate Account of the Provinces of* South-Caroiina *and* Georgia.

recify them; and lastly, the universal Report of Mr. *Oglethorpe's* matchless *Humanity* and *Generosity*, who was to Conduct the first Embarkation, and who was, in all Appearance, to undergo the greatest Hardships, without any other View than to succour the Distress'd; and despising Interest or Riches, was to venture his Life, his All, in establishing the intended Settlement. *Glorious Presages* of the future Happiness of that Colony! *Irresistable Temptations* to those, whose Genius or Circumstances led them to leave their Native Country!

NO Wonder then, that great Numbers of poor Subjects, who lay under a Cloud of Misfortunes, embraced the Opportunity of once more tasting Liberty and Happiness; that *Jews*, attracted by the Temptation of Inheritances flock'd over; that *Germans*, oppress'd and dissatisfied at Home, willingly join'd in the Adventure, some as Settlers, and others as Servants to the Trustees; and lastly, that great Numbers of Gentlemen of some Stock and Fortune, willingly expended Part of the same, in purchasing Servants, Tools, Commodities and other Necessaries, to *intitle* them to such respective Proportions of Land, as the Trustees had thought proper to determine, and such Liberties and Properties as they had Reason to expect from his Majesty's *most gracious Charter:* But how much they were all disappointed, the Sequel will shew. The *First* Thing that was done, was the Circumscribing the Rights and Titles given by his Majesty, and making many other various Restrictions, Services and Conditions, impossible for any human Person to perform; a few of which we shall here enumerate: In the first Place, there was an excessive *Quit-Rent* laid upon the Land, being a great Deal more than his Majesty's Subjects in the other *British* Colonies pay, *viz.. Twenty Shillings Sterling* for every *Hundred* Acres, to be paid yearly; and if it, or any Part thereof, should be behind and unpaid by the Space of *six* Calender Months next after any Day of Payment on which the same became due, then the Land was forfeited and return'd to the Trustees; as it likewise did upon Failure in any of the following Conditions, *viz. One Thousand* Mulberry Trees always to be growing on every *Hundred* Acres; No Partnership or Company to be enter'd into for making Pot-Ash; Not to assign or transfer the Land, or any Part or Parcel thereof, or any Estate or Interest in the same, for any Term of Years; Not to hire, keep, lodge, board or employ, within the Limits of the Province, any Black or Negro; and if the Person holding Land should die without Issue Male, or his Heirs at any Time should die without Issue Male, in that Case likewise, the whole Land was forfeited and reverted to the Trustees; and if any Part or Parcel of any of the *Five Hundred* Acre Tracts, should remain not cultivated

clear'd, planted and improv'd after the Space of *Eighteen* Years, such Part to return to the Trustees. These were the chief Restrictions in all the Grants of Lands, which appear'd very hard even to Strangers, who had not yet felt them, and who were ignorant of the Climate and Nature of the Place; but when any one complained of the Hardships of them, to paliate the Matter it was given out, that Negroes were entirely useless and unprofitable, Wine, Silk, Olives, Gardens and Manufactures for Women and Children, were the intended Improvements of the Colony; that the Restriction of the Rights of Lands, were only temporary, to prevent the Bartering or Selling them by the unthinking People, at an Undervalue; and concerning the Want of Male Issue, it was asserted, that the Trustees being duly petitioned, would grant Continuation of the Land to the eldest Daughter, if any, *&c.* upon their good * Behaviour: That the *Laws of England*, and the *Administration of Justice*, in the most impartial Manner, and most adapted to the Nature of *a Free British Government*, should be ever secur'd to the Inhabitants.

THE First of *February*, 1732-3, Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrived at *Georgia* with the first Embarkation, consisting of *Forty* Families, making upwards of *One Hundred* Persons, all brought over and supported at the Publick Charge. The First Thing he did after he arrived in *Georgia*, was to *make* a kind of *solemn Treaty* with a Parcel of *fugitive Indians*, who had been formerly banished their own Nation for some Crimes and Misdemeanours they had committed, and who had, some Months before this, got Liberty from the Governor of *South-Carolina*, to settle there. † Some of these he afterwards carried Home with him under *the Title* of *Kings*, *&c.* and all of them have been ever since maintain'd at the Publick Charge, at vast Expence, when many poor *Christians* were starving in the Colony for Want of Bread; and we may safely affirm, (and appeal to the Store-Books for the Truth of it) that a larger Sum of Money has been expended for the Support of those *useless Vagrants*, than ever was laid out for the Encouragement of Silk, Wine, or any other Manufacture in the Colony.

SECONDLY, He *prohibited* the *Importation* of *Rum*, under Pretence, that it was destructive to the Constitution, and an Incentive to Debauchery and Idleness: However specious these Pretences might seem, a little Experience soon convinced us,

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* How precarious must this Security be to such unfortunate Persons, when their Behaviour must be judged of by Information and Representation?

†They built a small Number of Huts on a Bluff called *Yamacraw*. *Savannah* now stands on the same Bluff.

that this Restriction was directly opposite to the Well-being of the Colony: For in the *first* Place, we were cut off from the most immediate and probable Way of exporting our Timber (the only poor Propect of Export that we could ever flatter ourselves with) to the *Sugar Islands*, Rum being the principal Return they make: In the *second* Place, the Experience of all the Inhabitants of *America*, will prove the Necessity of Qualifying *Water* with some *Spirit*, (and it is very certain, that no Province in *America* yields *Water* that such a Qualification is more necessary to than *Carolina* and *Georgia*) and the Usefulness of this Experiment has been sufficiently evident to all the Inhabitants of *Georgia* who could procure *it*, and use *it* with Moderation: A third Reason which made this Restriction very hurtful to the Colony, was, That tho' the Laws were in force against it, (which put it in the Power of Magistrates to lay Hardships upon every Person who might be *otherwise* under *their Resentment*) yet great Quantities were imported,* only with this Difference, that in Place of Barter or Exchange, the Ready Money was drain'd from *the Inhabitants:* And likewise, as it is *the Nature of Mankind* in general, and of *the common Sort* in particular, more *eagerly* to desire, and more *immoderately* to use, those Things which are most restrained from them; such was the Case with respect to Rum in *Georgia*.

THE THIRD Thing he did, was regularly to *set out* to each Free-holder in *Savannah*, Lots of *Fifty* Acres, in *three* distinct Divisions, *viz.* The *Eighth Part* of *One* Acre for a House and Garden in the Town; *Four* Acres and *seven-eighths*, at a small Distance from Town; and *Forty five* Acres at a considerable Remove from thence. No regard was had to the *Quality* of the Ground in the Divisions, so that some were altogether Pine Barren, and some Swamp and Morass, far surpassing the Strength and Ability of the *Planter:* And indeed, what could be done at any Rate, with such small Parcels of Land separate from one another: These Lots were likewise shaped in long pointed Triangles, which considerably increas'd the Extent of Inclosure, and rendered great Part of each Lot entirely useless. But these and many other Hardships were scarcely felt by the few People that came there, so long as Mr. *Oglethorpe* staid, which was about *Fifteen* Months: They work'd hard indeed, in Building some Houses in Town; but then they labour'd in common, and were likewise assisted by Negroes from *Carolina*, who did the heaviest Work: But at †Mr. *Oglethorpe's* going to *England*, the growing Fame

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* *Viz.* From *Carolina* and *New England*, who would take Money only.

† Before he departed, a Vessel with about *twenty* Families of *Jews* arrived,

of the Colony was thereby greatly increased, so that as it has been before observ'd, People, in Abundance, from all Parts of the World, flock'd to *Georgia*. Then they began to consider, and endeavour, every one according to his Genius or Abilities, how they might best subsist themselves. Some, with great Labour and Expence, essayed the *Making of* **Tarr:* This, as 'tis well known to the Trustees, never quitted Costs: Others tried to *make planck* and *saw Boards;* which, by the great Price they were obliged to sell them at, by Reason of the great Expence of white Servants, was the chief Means of ruining those who thought to procure a Living by their Buildings in Town; for Boards of all kinds, could always be bought in *Carolina*, for half the Price that they were able to sell them at; but few were capable to Commission them from thence, and those who were so were prevented from doing it, upon Pretence of discouraging the Labour of white People in *Georgia*. Those who had Numbers of Servants and Tracts of Land in the County, went upon the *Planting of Corn*, *Pease*, *Potatoes*, *&c.* and the Charge of these who succeeded the best, so far exceeded the Value of the Produce, that it would have saved *three fourths* to have bought all from the *Carolina* Market. The *Falling of Timber* was a Task very unequal to the Strength and Constitution of white Servants; and the *Hoeing the Ground*, they being exposed to the sultry Heat of the Sun, insupportable; and it is well known, that this Labour is one of the hardest upon the Negroes, even tho' their Constitutions are much stronger than white People, and the Heat no Way disagreeable nor hurtful to them; but in us it created *inflamatory Fevers* of various kinds, both *continued* and *intermittent*; *wasting* and *tormenting Fluxes*, most *excruciating Cholicks*, and *Dry-Belly-Achs; Tremors*, *Vertigoes*, *Palsies*, and a long Train of *painful* and *lingring nervous Distempers;* which brought on to many a Cessation both from Work and Life; especially as *Water* without any Qualification was the chief Drink, and *Salt Meat* the only Provisions that could be had or afforded: And so general were these Disorders, that during the hot Season, which lasts from *March* to *October*, hardly one Half of the Servants and working People, were ever able to do their Masters or themselves the least Service; and the Yearly Sickness of each Servant, generally speaking, cost his Master as

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all of whom had Lots assigned them; and likewise a Vessel with *forty* transported *Irish* Convicts, whom he purchased, altho' they had been before refused at *Jamaica*, and who afterwards occasioned continual Disturbances in the Colony.

* Mr. *Causton*, the Trustees Store keeper, mostly at their Charge, made a Tarr Kiln, which turned out to no Advantage.

much as would have maintained a Negro for *four* Years. These Things were represented to the Trustees in the Summer 1735; in a Petition for the Use of Negroes, signed by about *Seventeen* of the better Sort of People in *Savannah:* In this Petition there was also set forth the great Disproportion betwixt the Maintenance and Cloathing of white Servants and Negroes. This Petition was carried to *England* and presented to the Trustees, by Mr. *Hugh Stirling*, an experienced Planter in the Colony: but no Regard was had to it, or to what he could say, and great Resentment was even shewn to Mr. *Thompson*, the Master of the Vessel in which it went.

WHILST we labour'd under those Difficulties in supporting ourselves, our *Civil Liberties* received a more *terrible* Shock: For, instead of such a free Government as we had Reason to expect, and of being judged by the Laws of our Mother Country, a **Dictator*, (under the Title of *Bailiff* and *Store-keeper*, was appointed and left by Mr. *Oglethorpe*, at his Departure, which was in *April*, 1734) whose *Will and Pleasure* were the only Laws in *Georgia:* In Regard to this Magistrate, the others were entirely nominal, and in a Manner but Cyphers: Sometimes he would ask in Publick their Opinion, in order to have the Pleasure of showing his Power by contradicting them. He would often threaten Juries, and especially when their Verdicts did not agree with his Inclination or Humour. And in order the more fully to establish his *absolute* Authority, the Store and Disposal of the Provisions, Money and public Places of Trust, were committed to him; by which Alteration in his State and Circumstances, he became in a Manner *infatuated*, being before that a Person of no Substance or Character, having come over with Mr. *Oglethorpe* amongst the first *Forty*, and left *England* upon account of something committed by him concerning his Majesty's Duties: However, he was fit enough for a great many Purposes, being a Person naturally *proud*, *covetous*, *cunning* and *deceitful*, and would bring his Designs about by all possible Ways and Means.

AS his *Power* encreas'd, so did his *Pride*, *Haughtiness* and *Cruelty;* insomuch that he caused *eight* Free-holders with an Officer, to attend at the Door of the Court, every Day it sat with their Guns and Bayonets, and they were commanded, by his Orders, to *Rest their Firelocks* as-soon as he appeared; which made People in some Manner afraid to speak their Minds, or Juries to act as their Consciences directed them. He was seldom or never uncovered on the Bench, not even when an Oath was

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* *Mr.* THOMAS CAUSTON.

administered; and being perfectly *intoxicated* with Power and Pride, he threatned every Person without Distinction, Rich and Poor, Strangers and Inhabitants, who in the least opposed his *arbitrary* Proceedings, or claim'd their just Rights and Privileges, with the *Stocks, Whipping-Post* and *Logg-House*, and many Times put those Threatnings in Execution; so that the *Georgia Stocks, Whipping-Post* and *Logg-House*, soon were famous in *Carolina*, and every where else in *America*, where the Name of the Province was heard of, and the very Thoughts of coming to the Colony became a Terror to People's Minds. And now the Province of *Carolina*, who had, in private and publick Donations, given us upwards of 1300*l. Sterling*, seeing these Things, and how the Publick Money was thrown away, began to despise the Colony, and out of a Regard to the Welfare of their Fellow-Creatures, persuaded every Body they could from settling in it. That this *absolute* Power might be exercised without the least Interruption, the other Magistrates were such, that they either were unable or incapable to oppose it: It's true, in *December* 1734, Mr. *Causton* met with a little Interruption; for the Trustees then sent over to *Savannah* one Mr. *Gordon*, as Chief Magistrate, who being a Person of a very winning Behaviour, affable and fluent in Speech, soon got the Good-Will of every Body, and a great many of the People laid their Grievances and Hardships open to him, which seem'd a little to eclipse Mr. *Causton*; but he soon found out an Expedient to remove this Adversary, *viz.* by refusing him Provisions from the Store, which in a little Time rendered him incapable to support himself and Family, whereby he was obliged, after about *six* Weeks stay, to leave the Place, *in order*, as he said, *to represent our Grievances to the Trustees*, and soon after returned to *London;* but he did not perform his Promise, for what Reason we sha'n't pretend to determine; and some Time thereafter he either resigned or was dismissed from his Office of First Bailiff, and Mr. *Causton* was appointed in his Stead. As to Mr. *Henry Parker*, who was appointed Third Bailiff when Mr. *Gordon* came over, he was, in the *first* Place, a Man who had nothing to support himself and large Family but his Day-Labour, which was Sawing, and consequently as soon as his Time was otherwise employ'd, he must be entirely dependant on the Store for his Subsistence: In the *second* Place, he was a Man of no Education; so that Mr. *Causton* soon moulded him to his own liking, and infused into him what Notions he pleased: *Thirdly*, he was and is an *absolute* Slave to Liquor, and he who plies him most with it (which *Causton* always took Care to do, and whose Example has been since followed by his Successor *Jones*) has him, right or wrong, on his

Side. As to Mr. *Christie* the Recorder, he was easily over-ruled by the other two; and the same Practice was always continued: for he who was appointed Third Bailiff after *Gordon's* Dismission or Resignation, was one *Darn*, nigh *Seventy* Years of Age, crazed both in Body and Mind, who died not long after his Appointment; and his Successor *R. Gilbert*, could neither read nor write; so that *Causton* had never after *Gordon's* Departure, any Opposition made by the other Magistrates to his *arbitrary* Proceedings. If we should allow ourselves to enter into a Detail of the particular Instances of such Proceedings, we should exceed much our proposed Bounds: We shall therefore confine ourselves to *two* only, which may serve as a Specimen of the many others. *ONE* is, that of Capt. *Joseph Watson:* This Person having incurred *Mr. Causton's* Displeasure, was indicted for stirring up Animosities in the Minds of the *Indians*, &c. tending to the Ruin and Subversion of the Colony. Upon his Trial, the Jury in their Verdict, found him only guilty of *some unguarded Expressions*, (altho' twice returned and hectored by *Mr. Causton*, who acted both as Witness and Judge in the Matter) and verbally recommended him by their Fore-man to the Mercy of the Court, imagining or supposing he might be Lunatick; (however, as it afterwards appeared, it was represented to the Trustees that the Jury found him guilty of *Lunacy* in their Verdict) whereupon he was immediately confined by *Mr. Causton*, (altho' sufficient Bail was offered) and kept Prisoner near *three* Years, without any Sentence. But, as we are informed this Affair now lies before a proper Judicature, we shall say no more of it.

THE *other* Instance is that of *Mr. Odingsell*, who was an Inhabitant of *Carolina*, and had been a great Benefactor to the infant Colony of *Georgia*, having given several Head of Cattle and other valuable Contributions, towards the Promoting it. This person having come to *Savannah* to see how the Colony succeeded, after he had been there a few Days, being abroad some Time after it was Night, as he was going to his Lodgings was taken up in the Street for a Stroller, carried to the Guard-House, and threatned with the Stocks and Whipping-Post; the Terror and Fright of which (he being a mild and peaceable Man) threw him into a *high Fever* with a *strong Delirium*, crying out to every Person who came near him, *that they were come to carry him to the Whipping-Post;* and after lying *two* or *three* Days in this distracted Condition, he was carried aboard his boat in order to be sent home, and died in the Way somewhere about *Dawfuskee* Sound.

THUS, while the Nation at Home was amused with the Fame of the Happiness and Flourishing of the Colony, and of

it's being free from *Lawyers* of any kind, the poor miserable Settlers and Inhabitants were exposed to as *arbitrary* a Government as *Turky* or *Muscovy* ever felt. Verry Looks were criminal, and the Grand Sin of *withstanding*, or any way *opposing* Authority, (as it was called, when any Person insisted upon his just Rights and Privileges) was punished without Mercy. Nevertheless, we bore all these Things patiently, in full Hopes that the Trustees Eyes would soon be opened, and then our Grievances be redressed, and still continued exhausting our Substance in pursuing an impracticable Scheme, namely, Cultivating Land to Advantage in such a Climate with white Servants only, not doubting, but that the Parliament, who Yearly repeated their Bounty, would make up our Damages: But alas! their Bounty was applied in *Georgia*, rather to the Hurt than Benefit of the Colony, as we shall here briefly relate. First, a *Light-House* was set about; but before the Frame was erected it was almost half rotten, and has not been carried on any farther, nor never even covered, which has likewise greatly contributed to it's decay; and now that lofty Fabrick, so highly useful to Vessels which make that Coast, is either fallen or must fall very soon. *Logg-Houses* and *Prisons* of various sorts, were built and erased successively, and most Part of them were fitter for *Dungeons* in the *Spanish Inquisition* than *British Goals*. *Irons, Whipping-Posts,* * *Gibbets &c.* were provided, to keep the Inhabitants in perpetual Terror; for Innocence was no Protection: And for some Time there were more Imprisonments, Whippings, &c. of white People, in that *Colony of Liberty*, than in all *British America* besides. *Corn-Mills, Saw-Mills, Publick Roads, Trustees Plantations*, (as they were called) *Wells* and *Forts*, in different Places, were all set about, but, as is evident from the Event, with no Design to serve the Publick, but only to amuse the World, and maintain some Creatures who assisted in keeping their Neighbours in subjection; for few or none of these Things were ever brought to Perfection; some of them were left off half finished, and of those that were finished, some were erased (being found of no Service,) and others fell of themselves for Want of proper Care To carry on the Manufactures of *Silk* and *Wine*, a Garden was planted with Mulberries and Vines, which was to be a Nursery to supply the Rest of the Province: But this was as far from answering the proposed End, as every Thing else was; for it is situated upon one of the most barren Spots of Land in the Colony, being only a large Hill of dry Sand: Great Sums

* It was a very usual Thing with General OGLETHORPE, when any Persons had incurred his Displeasure, to threaten to hang them.

of Money were thrown away upon it from Year to Year, to no Purpose: This was Remonstrated to the Trustees; and they seem'd to be sensible of the Error, and gave Orders to chuse another Spot of Ground; but the *Ruling Powers* in *Georgia* took no Notice thereof. And now, after so great Time and Charge, there are not so many Mulberry-Trees in all the Province of *Georgia*, as many one of the *Carolina* Planters have upon their Plantations; nor so much Silk made there in one Year, as many of those Planters do make: Nor could they ever in that Garden, raise one Vine to the Perfection of bearing Fruit. And here it may be observed, That the *Silk* Mr. *O——pe* carried over for a Present to *Queen CAROLINE*, was most of it, if not all, made in *Carolina*. Tho' no proper Measures were ever taken for advancing the *Silk* and *Wine Manufactures*, yet private Persons made several Assays towards the Culture of *European Grapes;* but even such Attempts met with no suitable Encouragement from Mr. *Oglethorpe*, as will appear from the following Fact. *Abraham De Leon*, a *Jew*, who had been many Years a Vineron in *Portugal*, and a Free-holder in *Savannah*, cultivated several kinds of Grapes in his Garden, and, amongst others, the *Porto* and *Malaga* to great Perfection; of this he sent Home an attested Account to the Board of Trustees, proposing further, *That if they would lend him, upon such Security as he offered,* Two Hundred Pounds Sterling, *for* three *Years without Interest, that he would employ the said Sum, with a further Stock of his own, in sending to* Portugal, *and bringing over Vines and Vinerons; and that he should be bound to repay the Money in* three *Years, and to have growing within the Colony* Forty Thousand *such Vines, which he would furnish the Free-holders with at moderate Rates.*

THE Trustees were satisfied with the Security, and accepted the Proposal, and wrote him, *That they had remitted the* Two Hundred Pounds *by Mr.* Oglethorpe *for his Use;* which he did not deny, when applied to by the said *Leon* for the same, but said, that he could not advance more than *Twenty* or *Thirty Pounds*, in regard he had other Uses for the Money; and so that Design dropt.

IN *February*, 1735-6, Mr. *Og——pe* arrived in *Georgia*, for the *second* Time, with great Numbers of People, in order to settle to the Southward, where he soon after carried them. Upon the Island of *St. Simons* he settled a Town, which he called *Frederica;* and about *five* Miles Distance from thence, towards the Sea, he placed the Independant Company which he removed from *Port-Royal* in *Carolina*, their former Station. On one of the Branches of the *Alatamaha* he settled the *High-landers*, in

a Village which was called *Darien*. Then he settled a Fort on *Cumberland*, which he named *St. Andrews*; and some Time after he caused a Garrison of about *Fifty* Men to be placed upon a Sandy Island (without fresh Water) in the Mouth of *St. John's* River, opposite to a *Spanish Look-Out*, where Possession was kept for about *six* Months, and several Fortifications built; but at last he was oblig'd to abandon it, after several People had lost their Lives by the Inconveniencies of the Place, besides great Sums of Money thrown away in vain.

WHILST Things thus passed in the Southern Part of the Province, Mr. *Causton* was not idle at *Savannah*; and one would have thought, that he made it his particular Design further to exasperate the People of *Carolina*: He stopt their Boats who were going up to *New-Windsor*; and not content with that, he caus'd them to be searched, and whatever Rum was found therein, was directly stav'd, in Pursuance of an Act, as he alledg'd, entitled, *An Act against the Importation of Rum into the Colony of* Georgia. To complain of this, and to represent the bad State of the *Indian Trade*, a Committee from the Assembly of *South-Carolina*, arrived at *Savannah* in *July* 1736, where Mr. *Og——pe* then was: But their coming was of little Consequence; for after this the Differences and Animosities betwixt the two Provinces rather encreased than diminished; and we shall only observe, that one Thing is certain, that ever since Mr. *Ogle——pe* intermeddled in the *Indian Trade*, it has decayed a-pace, and at this Time is almost intirely *good-for-nothing* either to the one or the other Province.

THUS while the Province of *Carolina* resented the bad Treatment they had met with from the Leading Powers in *Georgia*, against the Colony in general, the poor Inhabitants were doubly unfortunate, being ill look'd upon by their nearest Neighbours and Friends, for the Actings of their Governors, while they themselves were still the greatest Sufferers by those very Actings.

WHILST Mr. *O——pe* staid in *Georgia*, great Complaints were made against the *arbitrary* Proceedings of Mr. *Causton*; but to no Purpose: Likewise several Persons endeavoured to shew the Impossibility of the Colony's succeeding, according to it's then present Constitution; But if this was done in his Hearing, he either always Brow-beat the Person or evaded the Discourse; if by Letters, he never made any Answer to them; even altho' he had given publick Orders, that every Person should give in their Grievances and Complaints to him in Writing, and that he would consider and answer the same. But that we might not be entirely ignorant of his Thoughts, Mr. *Causton*, who always spoke his Sentiments, publickly declar'd *That we had neither*

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Lands, Rights or Possessions; That the Trustees gave and that the Trustees could freely take away: And again, when he was told, that the Light-House wanted a few Spike-Nails to fasten some of it's Braces which were loose, and which might occasion the Downfall of the whole Fabrick; he answer'd *That he would say as Mr.* Oglethorpe *said, It might fall and be d——d.* Mr. *Oglethorpe* staid in *Georgia* until *November* 1736, most of which Time he spent to the Southward, and then embark'd for *England*, leaving Mr. *Causton* with the same Authority he had formely invested him with and in the same Power he then exercised, and the Colony under the same Difficulties and Hardships.

IN *March* thereafter we had Advice of the *Spaniards* Intentions of attacking the Colony from the *Havannah.* This put the whole Province in great Consternation, especially the Town of *Savannah;* they having neither *Fort, Battery,* or any other Place to shelter themselves in, in Case of any actual Attack; therefore they immediately set about Building a *Wooden Fort,* and all sorts of People labour'd continually until it was in some Measure finish'd; only Mr. *Causton* never came to the Work, but did all he could to retard it, making light of the Information, altho' it was sent Express by Commodore *Dent,* with a Letter directed to the *Commander in Chief of Georgia;* and has since been put out of all Manner of Doubt, the *Spaniards* having at that Time, *Four Thousand* Men embarqued and ready to sail, if an extraordinary Accident had not prevented *them. People now seeing the *little* Care that was likely to be taken in Case of a real Attack; and likewise finding, to their Cost, that the *Improvement of Land* was a vain and fruitless Labour with white Servants only, and with such Restrictions and precarious Titles, many began to withdraw and leave the Colony, and very little was planted this Season.

AND *Now* to make our Subjection the more compleat, a new kind of Tyranny was this Summer begun to be imposed upon us; for Mr. *John Wesly* who had come over and was receiv'd by us as a Clergyman of the *Church of England,* soon discovered that his Aim was to enslave our *Minds,* as a necessary Preparative for enslaving our *Bodies.* The Attendances upon Prayers, Meetings and Sermons inculcated by him, so frequently, and at improper Hours, inconsistent with necessary Labour, especially in an infant Colony, tended to propagate a Spirit of Indolence and of Hypocrisy amongst the most abandoned; it being much

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* They were detain'd *eight* Days at the *Havannah,* by contrary Winds; (the Land-Forces being on board all that time) at the End of which there came Orders from *Old Spain,* to forbear Hostilities, the Convention being then agreed upon.

easier for such Persons, by an affected Shew of Religion, and Adherence to Mr. *Wesly's* Novelties, to be provided by his Procurement from the publick Stores, than to use that Industry which *true* Religion recommends: Nor indeed could the Reverend Gentleman conceal the Designs he was so full of, Having frequently declar'd, *That he never desir'd to see* Georgia *a Rich, But a* * *Religious Colony.*

AT last all Persons of any Consideration came to look upon him as a *Roman Catholick*, for which the following Reasons seem'd pretty convincing. 1*st*, Under an affected strict Adherence to the *Church of England*, he most unmercifully damned all *Dissenters* of whatever Denomination, who were never admitted to communicate with him until they first gave up their Faith and Principles entirely to his Moulding and Direction, and in Confirmation thereof declared their Belief of the Invalidity of their former Baptism, and then to receive a new one from him: This was done publickly on the Persons of *Richard Turner*, Carpenter, and his Son. Another Instance was that of *William Gaff*, who had once communicated and always conformed to his Regulations, but was at last found out by Mr. *Wesly* to have been baptized by a *Presbyterian Dissenter*, the same Thing was propos'd to him; but Mr. *Gaff* not inclinable to go that Length, was ever thereafter excluded from the Communion.

2*dly*, While all *Dissenters* (whereof a considerable Number was in the Colony) were thus unmercifully damned, and shut out from Religious Ordinances, contrary to that Spirit of Moderation and Tenderness which the *Church of England* shew towards them; Persons suspected to be *Roman Catholicks* were received and caressed by him as his First-Rate Saints.

3*dly*, A third Confirmation of this Suspicion arose from his Endeavours to establish Confession, Pennance, Mortifications, Mixing Wine with Water in the Sacrament, and Suppressing in the Administration of the Sacrament, the Explanation adjoyned to the Words of communicating by the *Church of England*, to shew that they Mean a Feeding on Christ by Faith, saying, no more than "The Body of Christ; The Blood of Christ;" by Appointing Deaconesses, with sundry other Innovations, which he called *Apostolick Constitutions.*

4*thly*, As there is always a strict Connexion betwixt *Popery* and *Slavery;* so the Design of all this fine Scheme seem'd to the most Judicious, to be calculated to debase and depress the Minds of the People, to break any Spirit of Liberty, and humble them with Fastings, Pennances Drinking of Water, and a thorough Subjec-

* According to his System.

tion to the Spiritual Jurisdiction which he asserted was to be established in his Person; and when this should be accomplished, the Minds of People would be equally prepared for the Receiving Civil or Ecclesiastical Tyranny.

All *Jesuitical* Arts were made Use of to bring the well concerted Scheme to Perfection; Families were divided in Parties; Spies were engaged in many Houses, and the Servants of others brib'd and decoy'd to let him into all the Secrets of the Families they belonged to; nay, those who had given themselves up to his Spiritual Guidance (more especially Women) were obliged to discover to him their most secret Actions, nay even their Thoughts and the Subject of their Dreams: At the same Time he gave Charge to Juries; gave his Opinion in all Civil Causes that came before the Court: Nor could we imagine what all this would end in: Complain we might; but to no Purpose: And Mr. *Causton* and he went *Hand-in-Hand.*

BUT the merciful Providence of GOD disappoints frequently those Designs that are laid deepest in Human Prudence.

Mr. *Wesly* at this Time repulsed Mrs. *Sophia Williamson*, Neice to Mr. *Causton*, from the Sacrament. This young Lady was by her Friends put under the Ghostly Care of Mr. *Wesly*; who was pleased to make Proposals of Marriage to her: These she always rejected; and in some little Time married Mr. *William Williamson* of *Savannah*, much contrary to Mr. *Wesly's* Inclinations: After the said Marriage *Mr. Wesly* used all Means to create a Misunderstanding betwixt Mrs. *Williamson* and her Husband, by persuading her, that *Mr. Williamson* had no Right to regulate her Behaviour as to conversing with him, or attending Meetings as formerly; but at last finding he could gain Nothing upon her, and that *Mr. Williamson* had forbade him any Conversation with his Wife out of his Presence, he took the 'foresaid Means, by repelling her from the Holy Communion, of shewing his Resentment. *Mr. Williamson* thought himself well founded in an Action of Damages; and *Mr.* WESLY (being no longer supported by *Mr. Causton*, who was highly nettled at the Affront put upon his Neice, and could now declaim as fluently against Spiritual Tyranny as any Person) was indicted before a GRAND JURY of *Forty Four* Free-holders, and *Thirteen* Indictments were found against him; *one* concerned *Mr. Williamson* and his Spouse; the others concerning the Grievances we felt by his Measures, and the Exercise of his Ecclesiastical Functions, as above related: These last were given in to the Magistrates, to be by them laid before the Trustees, that these our Grievances might in Time coming, be properly redressed, (we having no other Jurisdiction, either Civil or Ecclesiastical,

that we could make Application to;) Then the Grand Jury began to consider and think, that as it was not probable a greater Number of *the better Sort* of People could ever be legally met together; so this was a fit Time to represent their Grievances and Hardships to the Trustees: Which they did in the following Manner.

An Abstract of the Representation of the Grand Jury of SAVANNAH, *to the Honourable the Trustees.*

'WE the Grand Jury duly sworn on the 22*d* of the last Month, and having divers Matters laid before us, which we humbly conceive, cannot properly be presented to this Court, because several of the said Matters touch the Proceedings of the Magistrates of the said Court, and contain sundry Articles, setting forth many publick Necessities and Hardships, which can only be remedied by your Honours Authority: *THEREFORE*, We the said Grand Jury having examined several Witnesses, do, upon our Oaths, Represent to your Honours the following *Grievances, Hardships* and *Necessities.*

'THAT as the Inhabitants of this Town and County have been and are still subject to many Inconveniencies, for Want of a Body of the Laws and Constitutions of this Province; it being exceeding Difficult in many Cases, both for Grand and Petit Juries, to discharge in a proper manner the great Duties that are incumbent on them by their Oaths; so we hope Your Honours will assist us, that we may be enabled well and truly to execute our Duties as aforesaid.

'THAT *Thomas Causton*, by his *arbitrary* Proceedings, hath endeavoured to render the Power and Proceedings of Grand Juries ineffectual, especially this Grand Jury, by intruding upon it when inclosed and about Business, and using the Members thereof, with great Haughtiness and Ill-nature, and threatning to dissolve them.

'THAT the said *Thomas Causton*, by his Office of Storekeeper, hath the Dangerous Power in his Hands of alluring weak-minded People to comply with unjust Measures, and also over-awing others from making just Complaints and Representations to Your Honours; and the known *Implacability* of the said *Causton*, and his frequent *threatning* of such People, is to many weak-minded tho' well-disposed Persons, a strong Bulwark against their seeking Redress, by making proper Complaints and just Representations to You their *Benefactors*, *Patrons* and *Protectors.*

'THAT the said *Causton* has made great Advancements on Provisions and Goods sold out of the Trustees Store to the

' Inhabitants, contrary to Mr *Oglethorpe's* Promise when he first ' settled this Colony, and contrary, as we apprehend, to Your ' Honours good Intentions, and greatly detrimental to the Pros- ' perity of the Colony; and that he hath refused to pay the ' Publick Debts otherwise than in Provisions at those dear Rates, ' and sometimes bad and unwholsome, out of the Publick Store, ' whereby the Inhabitants were *greatly* distressed, and some have ' been obliged to leave the Province.

' THAT whereas one *John White*, who had been committed ' for Felony, at the Suit of *William Aglionby*, and he the said ' *Aglionby* was bound to prosecute the same at next Court: ' Notwithstanding he the said *White* was removed before that ' Time by a Warrant under the Hand and Seal of *Thomas Christie*, ' and as we think, by the Advice and Command of *Thomas* ' *Causton*; by which Means we imagine the Criminal has escap- ' ed Justice, to the great Encouragement of enormous Offenders, ' contrary, as we conceive, to the Laws of our Country, the ' Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity, ' and particularly to the Welfare of this Your Colony.

' THAT the said *Causton* did greatly discourage the Inhabi- ' tants of this Town and County, in the Measures they had taken for ' the Defence and Safety of this place in the late Alarm from the ' *Spaniards*; for altho' almost every Body, Masters and Servants, ' labour'd continually in making a Fort to defend themselves, in ' case of Necessity; yet he the said *Causton* never came nigh ' the Work, but by his Words and Behaviour did all he could to ' prevent *it;* until at last the People were obliged to leave off the ' Work unfinished, contrary to the Welfare and Safety of this ' Colony.

' THAT the said *Causton* hath greatly prevented and discour- ' aged the *Cultivation of Lands*, by his hindring People to ' settle on the Tracts that were allotted to them by the Trustees; ' whereby several People have been greatly distressed, and some ' almost ruin'd, contrary (as we humbly conceive) to Your Ho- ' nours good Intention, aud the principal Part of Your glorious ' Undertaking.

' THAT the said *Thomas Causton*, in order to colour his ' illegal Proceedings, hath uttered Words to this or the like Pur- ' pose, *We do not stand upon our Feet; we do not know either* ' *our Laws or Liberties, nor what the Trustees intend; a Ma-* ' *gistrate cannot act to strict Forms, but may dismiss Matters of* ' *Petty-Felony in the easiest Manner*; thereby claiming to him- ' self (as we humbly conceive) a dispensing Power, fatal to the ' Liberties of *British* Subjects, and contrary, *&c.*

THE Want of *Publick Roads* hath been greatly detrimental

' to many who have Settlements at any Distance from this Place;
' and some have lost, and are still liable to loose great Part of
' their Crops, through the Difficulty of passing to and from their
' Plantations.

' THAT the great Want of *Servants* in this Town and Coun-
' ty doth render the Free-holders thereof incapable of proceeding
' with proper Vigor in the Cultivating their Lands; and as the
' Honourable *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; did generously promise,
' that Your Honours would be pleas'd to give this Colony con-
' tinual Assistance, by sending over Servants to the said Free-
' holders at reasonable Rates: *Therefore*, we do, with all Hu-
' mility, lay before Your Honours the great and general Want of
' Servants in this Town and County; not doubting Your timely
' Assistance therein.

' THAT the Town of *Savannah* stands in the utmost Need
' of having a good Wharff and Crane, for the Conveniency of
' both Strangers and Inhabitants, they being at *double* Pains and
' Costs in landing and getting their Goods up the Bluff.

' THAT the Light-House of *Tybee*, which with great Labour
' and (as we humbly conceive) vast Expence to Your Honours,
' remains unfinish'd and uncover'd; by Reason of which, that
' most necessary and lofty Structure is subject to all the Injuries
' of Weather, and may totally decay if not in time prevented,
' which will be greatly detrimental to the Trade, Navigation and
' Welfare of this Colony.

' THAT the Inhabitants of this Town and County are at vast
' Expence in Time of Sickness, especially they who have most
' Servants; it being a general Misfortune, that during the *hot*
' Season of the Year, hardly one Half of the Servants are able
' to do their Masters any Work, by Reason of the *violent* Sick-
' nesses; which hath very much prevented the Inhabitants from
' making Improvements.

' IT is without the least Personal Resentment to Mr. *Causton*,
' or any other Person, that we do, with the most profound Res-
' pect and Duty, lay before Your Honours the foregoing *Griev-
' ances*, *Hardships* and *Necessities*; and it is not the Persons or
' Personal Infirmities of any of the Magistrates we blame; but
' such of their Actions and Words as (we humbly conceive) tends
' to the Subversion of our Laws and Liberties; and we are firmly
' pursuaded, that Mr. *Causton* would not have impannelled *this*
' Grand Jury, on an Affair that so nearly concerned him as that
' of his Neice's did, if he had not believed the several Persons
' of this Grand Jury, to be Men of strict Integrity, and no way
' prejudiced against him; and as we the said Grand Jury are, for
' the time being, appointed for the solemn Representation of

'Truth, we humbly hope Your Honours will consider *this* our
'*Representation*, as proceeding from a strict, impartial and sound
'Enquiry.

In Witness, &c. ——— *This first Day of* September, 1737.

THE Orginal of this was signed by all the *Forty Four*, and sent Home; but was taken no Notice of by the Trustees for any Thing ever we heard; and we hope it will appear evident to every judicious Reader, that this Jury was neither *byassed* nor *intimidated* by *Causton*, to the Prejudice of any Person whatsoever, as Mr. *Westly* asserts in his Journal Printed at *Bristol*, 1739. He likewise says, *there were a professed Atheist and Deist in the Number*; but for our Parts we know of neither; But a Man of Mr. *Wesly's* Principles, who makes no Scruple of writing wilful Falshoods (as may be seen by any Body that compares *this Narrative* with *his Journal*) and of damning every Person of a contrary Opinion with himself; may, *without* Hesitation, give People what Appellations come in his Head: However this put an End to any further Prosecution of Mr. *Wesly's* Schemes; for soon after this, he departed the Colony privately by Night, and went to *Charles-Town*, and from thence to *England*.

Mr. *Wesly* had Address enough (as he says in his forementioned Journal) to persuade several Persons who were Members of the Grand Jury, to retract (by some Paper which he drew up for them to sign) their former Sentiments; but this, if it was at all, proceeded entirely from the solemn Assurances which he gave them, *that his main Design Home was to represent the Grievances and Oppressions which the poor Colony laboured under*; and upon this Account was charged with divers Letters and Papers from private Persons, relating to the Colony; which he undertook faithfully to deliver: But as we have since found, that all Mr. *Oglethorpe's* Interest was employed to protect Mr. *Wesly*; it is no wonder those Promises were never fulfil'd; nor indeed could it ever be ascertain'd, that even the private Letters which he carried, were so much as delivered.

ON the other Hand Mr. *Causton* ever after bore a mortal Hatred to the Members of this Grand Jury, and took every Opportunity to shew his Resentment; and we doubt not but he prevail'd upon *three* or *four* of them to a Recantation, having either terrified or starved them into a Compliance: But we bore these Things the more patiently, as being satisfied the Trustees were Gentlemen who had our Interest at Heart, and who would hear and redress our Grievances in due Time; and that Mr. *O*———*pe* might still be a Friend to the Colony; but at last

we heard *He* had procur'd a Regiment for its Defence, of which he was made Colonel; and that *He* was likewise made General and Commander in Chief over all his Majesty's Forces in *South-Carolina* and *Georgia*. This News was confirmed by *William Stephens*, Esq; who was sent over as Trustees Secretary, to represent the State and Condition of the Colony as it really was, and to assist and consult with the Magistrates: But Mr. *Causton* soon found the Means to bring over the old Gentleman to his Interest, or at least to *acquiesce* in every Thing he said or did; for he had still the Command of the Cash and Stores, and Mr. *Stephens* had Nothing to live upon but his Salary, which he could stop the Payment of at Pleasure; so our Secretary remained passive until *Causton's* Government ended.

AT last Mr. *Oglethorpe* comes over for the *third* Time, in *September*, with the Remainder of his Regiment; the other Part having come with Col. *Cochran* in *May:* But alas! this Regiment was of no Service, otherwise than to strengthen us in Case of an Attack; for we could neither furnish them in Cloaths, Provisions nor any one Thing they wanted: And to put us out of all Hopes of Bettering our Condition, Mr. *Oglethorpe* was pleas'd to declare in the Court-House of *Savannah*, *That as long as he had any thing to do with the Colony, there should neither be Allowance of Negroes nor Alteration in the Titles of Land; and if any such Thing should happen, he would have no further Concern with it.* The People thus seeing there was no Hope of Redress, left the Colony daily; and the Trustees Credit receiving a great Shock by their refusing Mr. *Causton's* certified Accompts, and an entire Stop being Put to the Publick Store; many poor Wretches died of Hunger: For at this Time Mr. *Causton* was turned out of all his Places, and the Store was ordered to be sold, in order, as was said, to pay off the Trustees Debts: One *Thomas Jones*, a Favourite of Mr. *Oglethorpe*, whose Character we shall have Occasion to give afterwards, was put in his Place, as Cash and Store-keeper, only with a different Title, *viz.* that of *Magazine-keeper;* for none but the Trustees Servants were to be supplied from it: But the Contrary soon appeared; for the *Sola Bills* that were sent over, were ordered to be issued out in the Names of *William Stephens*, Esq; Mr. *Thomas Christie* and Mr. *Thomas Jones*, or any *two* of them; but the other *two* agreeing together, entirely excluded *Christie*, and paid them to whom and for what Purpose they thought convenient: They bought *New-York* Cargoes, and any other Commodities that could be got in Quantities, and put them into the Magazine, where they were sold out by *Jones* in Wholesale and Retail, for ready Money, at *exorbitant* Rates. This Trade

they have carried on ever since, to their vast Advantage; but to the no small Distress of the poor People, who are obliged to give at the Rate almost of *Cent. per Cent.* for their Provisions. Thus under the Colour of *no Store*, these *two* keep as open a one as ever *Causton* did; and by having the Publick Money at their disposal, the Payment of all Salaries and Pensions coming through their Hands, they are become as *absolute;* with this Difference, that Mr. *Causton's* Power in every Respect, extended over the whole Colony when it was most populous and Money most plenty; but *theirs* seems only to affect the *wretched* Remains of *Savannah.*

We might have imagin'd, that the Trustees were somewhat moved with our *repeated* Complaints and that Mr. *Causton's* Removal was owing thereto: But alas! in this we were mistaken; Nothing (as ever we could understand) was laid to his Charge on our Account; and it was of small Benefit to us, whether the Mismanagement of Money, which was the Reason of his Dimission, lies at his or Mr. *Oglethorpe's* Door: And we *cannot but* here take Notice that Mr. *Causton's* Case fortifies the Common Observation, *That those who prostitute themselves to carry on illegal and oppressive Schemes, when they have once stuck in the Mire, they are forsaken by their Employers, and despised by all the World besides.*

Mr. *Oglethorpe* staid not long at *Savannah*, his common Residence being at *Frederica*, where they had, in Imitation of us, built a few Houses, and cleared some Land; but finding Planting not answer, they left it off, and as soon as the Regiment came, almost every Body betook themselves to the Keeping Publick-Houses; and in this Manner do the few that now remain live.

ALL the Publick Work being put a Stop to, and Clearing of Land being found impracticable, by which most of us had ruin'd ourselves; we were in a miserable Condition; and all hope from Mr. *Oglethorpe* being at an End, we could hardly tell *what to do:* But still thinking, the Trustees might be ignorant or misinformed of the present Condition of the Colony, we at last resolved to set forth our Grievances in a short and general *Representation*, to be signed by all the Free-holders in the Colony; of which the following is an exact Copy.

To the Honourable the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia *in* America.

May it please Your Honours;

WE whose Names are under-written, being all *Settlers*, *Free-holders* and *Inhabitants* in the Province of *Georgia*,

' and being sensible of the great Pains and Care exerted by You
' in Endeavouring to settle this Colony, since it has been under
' Your Protection and Management; Do unanimously join to lay
' before You, with the utmost Regret, the following Particulars:
' But in the *first* Place, we must beg Leave to observe, *that* it
' has afforded us a great deal of Concern and Uneasiness, that
' *former Representations* made to You of the same Nature, have
' not been *thought* worthy of due Consideration, nor even of an
' Answer. We have most of us settled in *this* Colony in Pur-
' suance of the Description and Recommendation given of it by
' You in *Britain;* and from the Experience of residing here
' several Years, do find that it is impossible that the Measures
' *hitherto* laid down and pursued for making it a Colony can suc-
' ceed. None of all those who have planted their Land have
' been able to raise Sufficient Produce to maintain their Families
' in Bread kind only, even tho' as much Application and Indus-
' try have been exerted to bring it about, as could be done by
' Men engaged in an Affair on which they believed the Welfare of
' themselves and Posterity so much depended, and which they
' imagin'd required more than ordinary Pains to make succeed;
' so that by the accumulated Expences every Year, of Provisions,
' Cloathing and Medicines, for themselves, Families and Servants,
' several hath expended all their Money, nay even run consider-
' ably in Debt, and so been obliged to leave off Planting and
' making further Improvements; and those who continue are
' daily exhausting more and more of their Money, and some
' daily increasing their Debt, without a *Possibility* of being
' reimbursed, according to the *present* Constitution. This being
' now the general *State of the Colony*, it must be obvious that
' People cannot subsist by their Land, according to the present
' Establishment; and this being a Truth resulting from Tryal,
' Practice and Experience, cannot be contradicted by any *theo-*
' *rical* Scheme or Reasoning. The Land then, according to the
' present Constitution, not being capable to maintain the Settlers
' here, they must unavoidably have recourse to and depend upon
' Trade: But to our *woful* Experience likewise, the same
' Causes that prevented the *first*, obstruct the *latter;* for tho' the
' Situation of this Place is exceeding well adapted for Trade, and
' if it was encouraged, might be much more improved by the
' Inhabitants; yet the Difficulties and Restrictions, which we
' *hitherto have* and *at present do* labour under, debar us of that
' Advantage: Timber is the only Thing we have here which we
' might export, and notwithstanding we are obliged to fall it in
' Planting our Land; yet we cannot manufacture it for a Foreign
' Market but at double the Expence of other Colonies; as for

' Instance, the *River of May*, which is but *twenty* Miles from us,
' with the Allowance of Negroes, load Vessels with that Commo-
' dity at one Half of the Price that we can do; and what should
' induce Persons to bring Ships here, when they can be loaded
' with one Half of the Expence so near us; therefore the Timber
' on the Land is only a continual Charge to the Possessors of it.
' tho' of very great Advantage in all the Northern Colonies,
' where Negroes are allowed, and consequently Labour cheap.
' We do not in the least doubt but that in Time *Silk* and *Wine*
' may be produced here, especially the former; but since the
' Cultivation of Land with white Servants only, cannot raise
' Provisions for our Families as before mentioned, *therefore* it is
' likewise impossible to carry on these Manufactures according to
' the *present* Constitution. It is very well known, that *Carolina*
' can raise every thing that this Colony can; and they having
' their Labour so much cheaper will always ruin our Market,
' unless we are in some Measure on a Footing with them; and
' as in *both*, the Land is worn out in *four* or *five* Years, and then
' fit for Nothing but Pasture; we must be always at a great deal
' more Expence than they in Clearing new Land for Planting.
' The *Importation* of the Necessaries of Life come to us at the
' most *extravagant* Rate; Merchants in general, especially of
' *England*, not being willing to supply the Settlers here with
' Goods upon Commission, because no Person here can make them
' any Security of their Lands or Improvements, as is very often
' practis'd in other Places to promote Trade, when some of the
' Employers Money is laid out in necessary Buildings and Im-
' provements fitting for the Trade intended, without which it
' cannot be carried on: The Benefit of Importation *therefore* is
' all to *transient* Persons, who do not lay out any Money amongst
' us; but on the Contrary, carry every Penny out of the Place:
' and the chief Reason for their enhancing the Price, is because
' they cannot get any Goods here either on Freight or Purchase for
' another Market: If the Advantage accruing from Importation
' centered in the Inhabitants, the Profit thereof would naturally
' circulate amongst us, and be laid out in Improvements in the
' Colony. Your Honours, we imagine, are not insensible of the
' Numbers that have left this Province, not being able to support
' themselves and Families any longer; and those still remaining,
' who had Money of their own and Credit with their Friends,
' have laid out most of the *former* in Improvements, and lost
' the *latter* for doing it on such precarious Titles. And upon
' Account of the present Establishment, not above *two* or
' *three* Persons, except those brought on Charity and Servants
' sent by You, have come here for the Space of *two* Years past.

' either to *settle* Land or *encourage* Trade, neither do we hear ' of any such likely to come until we are on *better* Terms. It ' is true, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant a ' Regiment for the Defence of this Province and our neighbour- ' ing Colony, which indeed will very much assist us in defending ' ourselves against all Enemies; but otherwise does not in the least ' contribute to our Support; for all that Part of their Pay which ' is expended here, is laid out with transient People, and our ' Neighbours in *Carolina*, who are capable to supply them with ' Provisions and other Necessaries at a moderate Price, which we ' as before observed, are not at all capable to do upon the present ' Establishment. This then being our present Condition, it is ' obvious what the Consequences must be.

' But we for our Parts have intirely relied on and confided in ' Your good Intentions, believing You would redress any Griev- ' ances that should appear; and now by our long Experience, ' from Industry and continual Application to Improvement of ' Land here, do find it impossible to pursue it, or even to subsist ' ourselves any longer, according to the *present* Nature of the ' Constitution; and likewise believing You will agree to those ' Measures that are found from Experience capable to make this ' Colony succeed, and to promote which we have consumed our ' Money, Time and Labour; we do, from a sincere Regard to its ' Welfare, and in Duty both to You and ourselves, beg Leave ' to lay before Your immediate Consideration, the *Two* following ' chief Causes of these our *present* Misfortunes and this *deplora- ble* State of the Colony, and which, we are certain, if granted, ' would be an infallible Remedy for *both*.

' 1*st*, The Want of a free Title or Fee-simple, to our Lands; ' which if granted, would both induce great Numbers of new ' Settlers to come amongst us, and likewise encourage those who ' remain here chearfully to proceed in making further Improve- ' ments, as well to retrieve their sunk Fortunes as to make Pro- ' visions for their Posterity.

' 2*d*, The Want of the Use of Negroes, with proper Limita- ' tions; which if granted, would both occasion great Numbers of ' white People to come here, and also render us capable to subsist ' ourselves, by raising Provisions upon our Lands, until we could ' make some Produce fit for Export, in some Measure to Ballance ' our Importation. We are very sensible of the Inconveniencies ' and Mischiefs that have already, and do daily arise from an ' unlimited Use of Negroes; but we are as sensible, that these ' may be prevented by a due Limitation, such as so many to each ' white Man, or so many to such a Quantity of Land, or in any ' other Manner which Your Honours shall think most proper.

'By granting us, *Gentlemen*, these *Two* Particulars, and such 'other Privileges as His Majesty's most dutiful Subjects in 'America enjoy, You will not only prevent our impending Ruin, 'but, we are fully satisfied, also will soon make this the most 'flourishing Colony possess'd by His Majesty in *America*, and 'Your Memories will be *perpetuated* to all future Ages, our latest 'Posterity *sounding* Your Praises, as their *first* Founders, Pa-'trons and Guardians; but if, by denying us these Privileges, we 'ourselves and Families are not only ruin'd, but even our Pos-'terity likewise; You will always be mentioned as the *Cause* and 'Authors of all their Misfortunes and Calamities; which we hope 'will never happen. *We are*,

with all due Respect,
Your Honours most dutiful
and obedient Servants.

Savannah,
9th December, 1738.

Magistrates.

Henry Parker,
his
Robert R G. *Gilbert*,
Mark.
Thomas Christie,
John Fallowfield,
John Brownfield,
William Woodroofe,
Patrick Tailfer,
Andrew Grant,
Robert Williams,
Samuel Mercer;
Patrick Grhame,
David Douglass,
Thomas Bailie,
Hugh Anderson,
James Williams,
Edward Jenkins,
Thomas Ormston,
Joseph Wardrope,
George Bunckle,
Adam Loyer,
Peter Joubart,
John Burton,
Robert Hows,
William Meers,
Thomas Salter,
James Bailow,
James Anderson.

Thomas Trip,
Samuel Holms,
James Muer,
William Parker,
John Grhame,
James Papot,
John Smith,
William Calvert,
Stephen Marrauld,
Richard Mellechamp.
Isaac Young, sen.
James Dormer,
William Carter,
Henry Moulton,
Jacob Watts,
Henry Manley,
Samuel Parker,
Stephen Mounfoord.
David Gender,
James Chainsae,
James Landry,
Lewis Stamon,
William Starflichet.
Simon Rieuwere.
John Young,
Samuel Lacy,
Peter Baillow,
Peter Emry,
William Elbert.

William Greenfield,
Christopher Greenfield,
Thomas Young, sen.
Henry Green,
Peter Tector,
Hugh Frazer,
John Sallie,
James Carwells,
John Lyndall,
Joseph Fitzwater,
Elisha Foster,
Walter Fox,
John Penrose,
David Snook,
Edward Townsend,
John Desborough,
—— *Gorsand*,
Andrew Duchee,
James Galloway,
John Kelly,
Joseph Stanley,
Thomas Young,
Thomas Cross,
Richard Davis,
Thomas Tibbet,
James Dean,
Donald Stewart,
John Dudding,
William Ewen,
Henry Loyd,
John Amory,
James Houston,
Isaac Young,
Robert Hanks,
Archibald Glen,
Thomas Neal,
Stephen Tarrien,
James Smith,
Samuel Ward,
Pierre Morelle,
John Desborough, jun
Edward Bush,
Benjamin Adams,
Charles Britain,
John Rae,
William Coltbred,
Thomas Wattle,
Thomas Bailie,
James Corneck,
James Burnside,
John Teasdale,
Giles Becou,
Francis Brooks,
John Clark,
George Rush,
Andrew Walker,
John Miller,
Thomas Andrews,
William Sterling,
Thomas Gantlet,
Richard Rogers.

In all 117.

THIS *Representation* was signed with the greatest Willingness by the above *One Hundred and Seventeen* Free-holders in the County of *Savannah*, and only a very few of the General's Favourites declin'd to subscribe the same, so strong appeared to all of them the Truths therein contained, and the *absolute* Necessity of such an Application. The *Jews* applied for Liberty to sign with us; but we did not think it proper to join them in any of our Measures: We likewise did not allow Widows and Orphans to subscribe; because as the Representation contain'd the absolute Necessities of the Colony; it Might be objected to us, that they were no proper Judges. As for the People of *Ebenezer*, the Subscribers did particularly appoint some of their Number to wait upon Mr. *Boltzius*, their Pastor, and to shew him

the Representation; which was done; and Mr. *Boltzius* declar'd, That the *Saltzburghers* were equally dissatisfied with their Rights and Restrictions as the other Free-holders, and he doubted not their Willingness to join in petitioning for Redress, engaging to consult them, and to bring their Answer; which he never did; and being thereafter question'd thereupon by Mr. *Anderson* (one of the Persons commissioned to commune with him as is above related) in the Presence of several Gentlemen, he the said *Boltzius*, after some frivolous Excuses, confessed, that the Honourable Mr. *Oglethorpe* had both given them Satisfaction, and engaged him to write Home to *Germany* for a further Supply of his Countrymen.

This Gentlemen (we observe it with Regret) has been made the Instrument of imposing upon many *British* Subjects, by publishing Journals and Letters (to which we refer) most inconsistent with Truth.

Neither did we admit of Servants to sign the same, lest it should be objected, that they were under the Influence of their Masters. By this our Conduct it will appear to every Person of Impartiality, how far we were from using Arts * to extort by Clamour a Redress of our Grievances.

A COPY of the Representation was immediately sent to *Frederica*, and another to *Darien:* The *last* was sent to Mr. *John More M‘ Intosh*, and under the same Cover a Letter to Mr. *Benjamin M‘ Intosh:* But the *first* kept up the other's Letter, and sent his own with the Representation to the General; who immediately dispatch'd Lieut. *George Dunbar* (who speaks the *Highland* Language, and has a very fluent and artful Way of Talking) who, with the Assistance of *More M‘ Intosh*, and Promises to the poor People of Cattle (which they afterwards got) with several other Considerations, soon persuaded them to sign a Paper, the Design of which, they were told, was to oppose the People of *Savannah;* who being Enemies to the General, were petitioning against him. As for their Leader *M‘ Intosh*, he was immediately set up in a Store, and plentifully supplied with all Kinds of Goods, and has often declared, *That if, by acting as he did, he could live well himself, he did not care what became of the rest of the Colony; and as for his Children they might go wander in the Woods with the Indians.* As soon as it was heard that the Representation was come to *Frederica*, the Inhabitants were called together, and told, *That the People of* Savannah *were going to throw off the Government of the Trustees, and had associated together for that Purpose; and therefore*

* Vide Trustees Answer.

advis'd them to beware of any Snare that might be laid by these People, which if they were caught in would ruin them. And thus was the Design of the Representation quash'd both in *Darien* and *Frederica.* Some Time after this a Copy of the Representation was sent to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, together with the following Letter, which was wrote by an anonymous Author; which we think is partly an Explanation of the Representation, and likewise a *true* View of the Situation of the Colony at that Time, with the Character Mr. *Oglethorpe* then bore in it; and for these Reasons we here insert it: It was directed,

To the Honourable James Oglethorpe, *Esq*; *General and Commander in Chief over all His Majesty's Forces in* South-Carolina *and* Georgia, *&c.* —— *at* Frederica.

SIR,

'IT is the common Misfortune of all who act in the higher 'Stations of Life, to be surrounded with Flatterers, who con- 'sult rather the Humours, Passions and Prejudices of their 'Patrons, than their Honour and Interest: This should induce 'every Person in such Station, who regards his own Honour, 'Interest or Fame, to lend an open and attentive Ear to Truth, 'in whatever Shape or from whatever Hand delivered. I who 'use this Freedom with Your Excellency, being an anonymous 'Author, have no other Byass, Motive or Interest in View, fur- 'ther than as I am a Member of the Colony, and a Well-wisher 'to the Happiness of Society, unless a real and sincere Regard to 'your Honour and Welfare, and an earnest Desire to restore 'you to that Quiet of Mind and the now suspended Affections 'of the People, which the present State of Affairs must neces- 'sarily deprive you of; it is not therefore of Consequence to 'enquire *who* writes, but *what* is wrote: I am, *Sir*, a Plain-Dea- 'ler, and shall, with the greatest respect, use you with more '*Sincerity* than *Ceremony*; and if my Arguments can attain the 'desired Effect, you will, I doubt not, think me your and the 'Colony's real Friend. When a skilful Physician would relieve 'his Patient of a Disease, he traces it from the Beginning, and 'examines the Sources and Progress of it, in order that by finding 'out the Cause, he may the more certainly apply a Remedy: 'In the Body Politick the same Process is necessary to effect 'a Cure. The present languishing and almost desperate Con- 'dition of the Affairs of this Province, is too obvious to your 'Excellency to need a Description: Be pleased then, laying aside 'Prepossession and Prejudice, to retire unto your self, and ex- 'amine impartially whence the present Misfortunes take Rise;

'in order to which, let me present your Excellency with a View 'of the Nation's Designs in Establishing this Colony; and indeed 'they were and are Nothing unsuitable to a *British* or *Roman* 'Spirit; To wit. *The Establishing a strong and numerous* 'Settlement as a *Barrier and Safeguard of* British America: '*To employ those Persons in effecting this End who were least* 'useful at Home, *and others who from the Reasonableness of* 'the *Proposals, should voluntarily profer their Service: To re-* 'store *Liberty and Happiness to those who, oppressed by the* 'common *Misfortunes of Mankind, were groaning under the* 'Consequences *of those Misfortunes, and incapable to serve* 'themselves *or Country at Home: And* lastly, *to set a Foot such* 'new *Manufactures as might be most useful to support the Col-* 'ony, *or tend to rectify the Ballance of Trade of* Great Britain 'with *Neighbouring Nations.* A Design truly great, founded 'on the the justest Policy, and practicable: To suggest that any 'low private Design was ever laid down, that might tend to make 'the Adventurers Slaves, or, at best, Tenants at Will; or that it 'was a Concert to leave the Industry and Substance of the Set- 'tlers exposed to satisfy the Ambition or Covetousness of an after 'Governor, or any particular Courtier or Party; or to imagine 'that the Honourable Board of Trustees, or any of them, could 'be capable of such a Concert; I say, *Sir*, that such a Thought 'were impious. What Wonder then, if Numbers of Persons, 'encouraged by his Majesty's most ample Rights and Privileges 'granted in his *Royal Charter* to the Honourable Trustees, for 'the Behalf of the Inhabitants; from the beautiful Description 'of the *Fertility* of the Soil and *Happiness* of the Climate; and 'lastly, from a View that Mr. *Oglethorpe*, a Gentleman of the 'greatest Humanity and Generosity, was willing to sacrifice his 'Ease, and all those Pleasures and Enjoyments which his easy 'Circumstances of Life *intitled* him to, in order to be the *Pa-* 'tron and *Father* of the Distress'd, and the *distinguish'd Friend* 'of his Country, Society, and Humane Nature; I say, *Sir*, 'no Wonder if Numbers, upon those Views, embark'd their 'Persons, Families and Fates in such an Adventure. Shall any 'Thing then intervene to render such a noble Design abortive, 'and frustrate those of their expected Happiness, or your Excel- 'lency of your deserved Honour? GOD FORBID!

'This Colony consists of *two* Sorts of People; either *those* 'whom the Publick sent over and supported, or **Volunteers*, who 'were not burthensome to the Publick; *both* now I look upon in

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* By this Word was meant those Persons who settled in *Georgia* upon their own Expence.

‘ the same Light; as either Party have exhausted their Support
‘ or private Stocks, in endeavouring to prosecute the intended
‘ Plan; but it shall suffice for my Argument, that so many of
‘ each Kind have applied themselves to this Purpose, as are
‘ sufficient to confirm the Experiment, *that* it is impossible for
‘ us with *British* or *Foreign* Servants, to afford the lowest
‘ Necessaries of Life, much less to increase our Stocks, or defray
‘ the many Exigencies and Disappointments that this Soil and
‘ Climate are *inevitably* exposed to: This I take to be granted;
‘ and would to God the Success of the Colony depended on the
‘ Laying the most *satisfying* Proof of it! And as for Persons
‘ who, from selfish Views, have imposed upon the Credulity of
‘ the Honourable Trustees, by representing Things in Colours
‘ distant from Truth, it were superfluous to curse them. I do not
‘ say, but in Time Manufactures may be founded more suitable
‘ to the *Strength* and *Constitution* of *British* Servants, that
‘ might support and enrich the Colony; I heartily pray for *that*
‘ happy Period; and should then condemn and dissent from any
‘ who would *not* be content with the *present* Regulation; but as
‘ in the *Interim* Production of Necessaries is *absolutely* requisite,
‘ and under the *present* Establishment impracticable; it follows
‘ of Course, *that* either the Scheme must be *altered*, or the De-
‘ sign *abandoned:* At the first *it* was a Trial, now *it* is an Experi-
‘ ment; and certainly no Man or Society need be asham'd to
‘ own, *that* from *unforeseen* Emergencies their *Hypothesis* did
‘ misgive; and no Person of Judgment would censure for Want
‘ of Success where the Proposal was probable; but all the World
‘ would exclaim against that Person or Society who, through
‘ mistaken Notions of Honour or Positiveness of Temper, would
‘ persist in pushing an Experiment *contrary to all Probability*,
‘ to the Ruin of the Adventurers. How many *Methods* may be
‘ found out by the Wisdom of the Trustees, for Remedying *this*
‘ Inconvenience, I know not; *One* only occurs to me, which is,
‘ the *Admitting* a certain Number of Negroes, sufficient to ease
‘ the white Servants from *those* Labours that are most fatal to a
‘ *British Constitution:* I am very sensible of the Inconvenien-
‘ cies of an *unlimited* Use of them in a Frontier Colony; but am
‘ as sensible, that *those* Inconveniencies may be prevented by
‘ prudent *Regulations;* and their Admission for executing the
‘ more laborious Parts of Culture, made the Means to *attract*
‘ Numbers of white Servants, who would otherwise fly the Place
‘ as a *Purgatory* or *Charnel-House*. If our Labour and Toil is
‘ not capable of producing mere Necessaries by *Cultivation of*
‘ *Land*, much less by *Trade:* For as all the neighbouring Colo-
‘ nies, by Reason of their Negroes, prosecute all Branches of it

' at a *sixth* Part of the Expence we can; they would forever ' preclude us of any Benefit therefrom. And supposing, what ' cannot be admitted, that the Nation would consent to give a ' *perpetual* Fund for making up *all those* Deficiencies, What ' Benefit could ever accrue to the Nation? or What to the Set- ' tlers but a present bare Sustenance? and What the certain ' Consequence but the Bequeathing a numerous Legacy of Or- ' phans to the Care of Providence, since no Period of Time can ' be affixed when such a Support would enable us to provide for ' ourselves? A *second* Reason which disables us to improve ' either by Land or Trade, is our *Want of Credit:* You know ' very well, that both the mercantile and mechanick Part of ' Mankind, live more by *Credit* than *Stock;* and the Man who ' has a probable Scheme of improving Credit, is naturally entitled ' to it: As we have no Stock further to dispense, either in Cultiva- ' tion or Trade, we are reduced to need the Support of Credit; ' which the present Restrictions of our legal Rights and Titles to ' our Land deprive us of: It is true, indeed the Trustees have ' assured us, *That those and other Restrictions are only Tempo- ' rary, and for the Welfare of the first Settlement, until a proper ' Body of Laws, which was upon the Carpet, should be perfected;* ' and I am far from disputing the Reasonableness of that Resolution, ' while either the *publick* Support or *private* Stocks kept us from ' needing Credit; but that now the Case is alter'd, the Necessity ' of Removing those Restrictions is arrived, to preserve the ' Remains of the Colony not *yet* dissolved, and far too late for ' Hundreds whom *Necessity* has dispersed in *other* Corners of ' the World: This is a Truth, *Sir*, too obvious to need *further* ' Enlargement.

' Hence it is clear, we can insist on demanding our Privileges ' as *British Subjects*, from the Trustees Promises; but we like- ' wise claim them as *Law*, *Justice* and *Property*. Your Excel- ' lency was pleased, in the Court-House of *Savannah*, to use a ' Comparison to satisfy the Minds of the People, of *a Man who ' would lend his Horse but not his Saddle, which one refusing ' another accepted of:* This, I humbly take it, no Ways meets ' the Case; the King's Majesty was Owner both of *Horse* and ' *Saddle*, of *Lands* and *Rights*, and gave us *both* in his *Charter;* ' we ask but what is *there* given us. The Reliance on the Pub- ' lick Faith brought us to *this* Colony; and to endeavour to ob- ' viate or disappoint the Effects of *those* Promises which tempted ' us here, were to justify the Decoying us to Misery, under the ' Sanction of the *Royal Authority*, than which Nothing could be ' more injurious to the *Fountain of Honour*. I shall suppose, ' that were full and ample Rights given, that *some* idle Persons.

‘ who had no *Judgment* to value or *Inclination* to improve their
‘ Properties, no *Affections* for their Families or Relations, might
‘ dispose of *their* Rights for a *Glass of Rum;* but I absolutely
‘ deny, *that* the Colony could lose by such an Exchange: I own
‘ such Persons were much safer *if bound* than *at Liberty;* but
‘ where the *Affection of the Parent* and the *Reason of the Man*
‘ die, the Person is a fitter Inhabitant for *Moorfields* than *Geor-*
‘ *gia.* I must notice further, That not only are Parents incapa-
‘ ble, for *Want of Credit,* to provide for themselves, being
‘ necessitated to dispose of their Servants for want of Provisions;
‘ but if they could, only their eldest Son could reap the Benefit,
‘ their younger Children, however numerous, are left to be fed
‘ by Him who *feeds the Ravens;* and if they have no Children,
‘ their Labour and Substance descends to Strangers: How, *Sir,*
‘ could you, or indeed any *free-born* Spirit, brook such a Tenor?
‘ Are not our younger Children and Daughters equally *entitled* to
‘ our Bowels and Affections? And does humane Nature end with
‘ our First-born, and not extend itself to the Rest of our Progeny
‘ and more distant Relations? And is it not inverting the Order
‘ of Nature, *that* the eldest Son should not only enjoy a double
‘ Portion, but exclude all the younger Children? and having an
‘ Interest *independant* of the Parents, how natural is it he should
‘ withdraw that Obedience and Subjection which proceeds from
‘ *paternal* Authority and *filial* Dependance! The Trustees
‘ are but a Channel to convey to us the King's Rights, and *cannot*
‘ in Law or Equity, and, I dare say, *will not* abridge those
‘ Rights. Can we suppose *that* we are singled out for a *State*
‘ *of Misery* and *Servitude,* and *that* so many Honourable Per-
‘ sonages are Instruments of it? Far be the Thoughts from us!
‘ The Genius of the *British Nation,* so remarkably zealous for
‘ *Liberty* and the *Rights of Mankind,* will never suffer *British*
‘ *Subjects,* who have not fled their Country for Crimes, but
‘ voluntarily proffered their Service, and risqued their ALL, upon
‘ the Confidence of the *Publick Faith* and the *Trustees Honour,*
‘ to accomplish a Settlement upon the *most dangerous* Point
‘ of his Majesty's Dominions; I say, it will never allow such to
‘ be depriv'd of *publick* Promises of the *natural* Liberties of
‘ *British* Subjects. As we are on a *Frontier,* where our Lives
‘ and Fortunes may more frequently come into dispute than other
‘ People's; our Privileges and Supports should be proportionably
‘ greater; for who would venture his Life to secure *no Property,*
‘ or fight to secure to himself *Poverty* and *Misery;* and no doubt
‘ our cunning and vigilant Adversaries, the *French* and *Spaniards*
‘ would know how to make their own Advantage: The King
‘ has been very gracious, and your Endeavours generous and

'useful, in procuring a *Regiment* for our Protection; but let me 'add a Truth equally certain, that only the Flourishing of the 'Colony can support *that Regiment;* and not only the *Support* 'of the Soldiers, but your own *Honour*, *Glory* and *Reputation* 'are *intermixed* with the *Fate of the Colony*, and must *stand* or '*fall* with *it*.

'To come closer to the Point, please to consider the *Conse-* 'quences of Refusing the *Representation* of the Colony, whereof 'your Excellency as one of the Honourable Board will be fur- 'nished with a Copy, and how *these Consequences* may affect '*the* COLONY, *the* NATION, *the* TRUSTEES, *the* MILITARY ES- 'TABLISHMENT in this Province, *the* INDIANS *and* YOUR EXCEL- 'LENCY.

'As to the COLONY, the deferring *hitherto* the necessary 'Relief, has already *too tragically* affected it, by dispersing a 'great Part of the Inhabitants; the Remainder, in a languishing 'Condition, supported more with *faint Hopes* and a *continued* 'Reliance on the Honour of the Nation and Trustees, than '*Victuals;* while *want* and *meagree Famine* guard the Door of 'many, and render them equally incapable to stay or go: The 'Town, so beautifully situated to the Honour of the Contriver, 'bearing the most visible Signs of *Decay* and *Mortality* before 'it is *fully born;* and the once cultivated Plantations now over- 'grown with Weeds and Brush, are so many *Hic jacets* of such 'and such Persons and Families! I wish it were possible to draw 'a Veil over this *tragick* Scene! But, *Sir*, our *Case* is more 'clamant than a *thousand Tongues*, and will reach the *Ears* and 'pierce the *Hearts* of every *TRUE BRITON.* If such the 'Effects of *Delay*, what will the *total Dissolution* of the Colony 'produce? Such a Body of miserable People, Orphans and 'Suppliants, will be heard by the *Justice of the Nation;* and if 'it shall appear, that the *too* positively adhering to an impracti- 'cable Scheme, and the refusing those obvious Means that would 'answer the proposed End, or with-holding those just Rights 'which we are *entitled* to, have been the Cause; we should have 'Right to recover Damages from the Authors of our Miseries. 'In all Places where Settlements were attempted by the *English*, 'and found untenable, the Settlers were taken Home upon Pub- 'lick Charge, their Losses recompensed, and they made other- 'wise Useful to the Community; while we are neither allowed 'to do for ourselves here or elsewhere. As to the *second* Point, 'how *the* NATION would be affected by *it;* it is first obvious, 'That all the noble *Ends* and *Advantages* they propos'd are lost, 'and Sums of Money expended to no Purpose but to inform the '*French* and *Spaniards* of the Importance of a Pass which they

'would not fail to possess. It were impossible to make a *second* 'Settlement upon the *present Plan*; and if it is to be *altered* in 'the Favours of others, why not of us who have risqued and 'spent our *all* in the *Adventure?* How *the* TRUSTEES may 'be affected by it in all Respects, I shall not say; a *Parliamen-* 'tary Enquiry into their Management, I no ways question but 'they could *entirely* satisfy; but all good Men will regret, that so 'Honourable a Body should lose *that* Glory and Fame which the 'prosperous Success of the Colony would have crown'd them 'with. I have formerly asserted, that only the flourishing State 'of the Colony can support *the* MILITARY; and indeed with- 'out a Colony, it were easier to maintain a Garrison in *Tangier* 'on the Coast of *Africa*, than in the South of *Georgia*. One 'Regiment would *little* suffice to withstand the Enemy; and yet 'so small an Handful may be reduced to *Discontent*, *Straits* and '*Wants*, notwithstanding all the *Bounty* of a King or *Prudence* 'of a General. As to *the* INDIANS; What could we expect 'less than being scorned and despised? That *they* should imme- 'diately fall in with the tempting Proffers of the *French* and '*Spaniards*, and so *Great Britain* cut off from that valuable 'Branch of the *Indians Trade?* For how indeed could they 'expect *Execution of Treaties* or *Protection* from People who, '*without* the Force of any Enemy, could *not* preserve their *own* 'Schemes of Government from falling to Pieces? How the 'Tragedy must affect YOUR EXCELLENCY would be *Pre-* 'sumption in me to determine: I only know, that to see *Those* 'you honour with the Name of *Children*, in *Want* and *Misery*; 'that *Settlement* which should have *perpetuated* your Name to 'Posterity with the *greatest* Honour; become the *Foil* of all 'your great Undertakings; and the *Expectations* of all the World, 'from your promising Endeavours, *setting* in a *Cloud* and *Ob-* 'scurity; must affect Your Excellency in a Way suitable to your 'human and generous Disposition.

'*Sir*, We still *love*, *honour* and *respect* you, (whatever low 'selfish minded Persons, the Bane of Society, may surmise to 'the contrary) and will continue to do so, while we can have any 'Hopes of your pursuing Measures consistent with *our Prosperi-* 'ty: But, *Sir*, *Smiles* cannot be expected amidst *Disappoint-* 'ments and *Wants*; and there is no altering the Course of Nature: 'Love and *Gratitude* are the Tribute of *Favours* and *Protection*, 'and *Resentment* the Consequence of *Injuries* received; and in 'Disappointments of this Nature much more reasonably than in 'those of *Love*, do the contrary Passions take Place in the same 'Degree. What then remains, but that you embrace *those* 'obvious Measures, that will *retrieve* our desperate Affairs;

' *restore* to us, in Mr. *Oglethorpe*, our Father and Protector,
' whose Honour and Affection was depended upon; *secure* to
' yourself a Society that love and honours you, and who will
' always be ready to sacrifice both Life and Fortune to your
' Honour and Protection; and your Name with Blessings will be
' *perpetuated*. If in this I have, by a *sincere* and *well-meant* Free-
' dom, given Offence, I heartily ask Pardon; none was intended:
' And I only request, that, while *Truth* keeps the Stage, the
' *Author* may be allowed to remain *incog.* behind the Scenes.

I am, SIR, Your, &c.

The PLAIN-DEALER.

THIS Year there was promised a *Bounty* of *Two Shillings Sterling* on every Bushel of Corn, and *One Shilling* on every Bushel of Pease and Potatoes, raised in the County of *Savannah:* This induc'd some few to plant; but they were miserably deceived; for few or none of them ever received their *full Bounty*, and not many *any Part thereof*, (altho' if they had received it twice over, it could not have answer'd the End:) People being thus, by a *Chain of Disappointments* and *Miseries*, most of them rendered incapable to subsist, and toward the End of this Summer, beginning to dispair of having any favourable *Answer* to their *Representation*, or Hopes of Redress, left the Colony faster than ever; and when the *Answer* (or rather Denial) came over, they went in such Numbers that the whole Province of *South-Carolina* was overspread with them, and in and about the Town of *Charlestown* alone, this Autumn, above *Fifty Georgians* died in Misery and Want, most of whom were buried at the Publick Charge.

IN *September* a printed Paper, entitled, *An* Answer *to the* Representation, *&c.* was sent over, and arrived at *Savannah;* and of which this is an exact Copy.

The ANSWER of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia *in* America, *to the Representation from the Inhabitants of* Savannah, *the 9th of December*, 1738, *for altering the Tenure of the Lands, and introducing Negroes into* Georgia.

To the Magistrates of the Town of Savannah, *in the Province of* Georgia.

' THE Trustess for establishing the Colony of *Georgia* in
' *America*, have received by the Hands of Mr. *Benjamin Ball*
' of *London*, Merchant, an attested Copy of a Representation,
' signed by You the Magistrates, and many of the Inhabitants of
' *Savannah*, on the 9*th* of *December* last, for altering the Tenure

'of the Lands, and introducing Negroes into the Province, 'transmitted from thence by Mr. *Robert Williams*.

'The Trustees are not surprized to find unwary People drawn 'in by crafty Men, to join in a Design of *extorting by Clamour* 'from the Trustees an Alteration in the Fundamental Laws, 'framed for the Preservation of the People, from those very 'Designs.

'But the Trustees cannot but express their Astonishment, that 'You the Magistrates, appointed by them to be Guardians of the 'People, by putting those Laws in Execution, should so far 'forget your Duty, as to put Yourselves at the Head of this 'Attempt.

'However they direct You to give the Complainants this An-'swer from the Trustees, That they should deem themselves 'very unfit for the Trust reposed in them by His Majesty on 'their Behalf, if they could be prevailed upon, by such an irra-'tional Attempt, to give up a Constitution, framed with the 'greatest Caution for the Preservation of Liberty and Property; 'and of which the Laws against the Use of Slaves, and for the 'Entail of Lands, are the surest Foundations.

'And the Trustees are the more confirmed in their opinion of the 'Unreasonableness of this Demand, that they have received Peti-'tions from the *Darien*, and other Parts of the Province, represen-'ting the Inconvenience and Danger, which must arise to the good 'People of the Province from the Introduction of Negroes. And 'as the Trustees themselves are fully convinced, that besides the 'Hazard attending that *Introduction*, it would destroy all Indus-'try among the white Inhabitants; and that by giving them a 'Power to alien their Lands, the Colony would soon be too like 'its Neighbours, void of white Inhabitants, filled with Blacks, 'and reduced to be the precarious Property of a Few, equally 'exposed to Domestick Treachery, and Foreign Invasion; and 'therefore the Trustees cannot be supposed to be in any Dispo-'sition of granting this Request; and if they have not before 'this signified their Dislike of it, this Delay is to be imputed to 'no other Motives, but the Hopes they had conceived, that Time 'and Experience would bring the Complainants to a better 'Mind: And the Trustees readily join Issue with them in their 'Appeal to Posterity, who shall judge between them, who were 'their best Friends; *Those*, who endeavoured to preserve for 'them a Property in their Lands, by tying up the Hands of their 'unthrifty Progenitors; or *They*, who wanted a Power to mort-'gage or alien them: Who were the best Friends to the Colony, '*Those* who with great Labour and Cost had endeavoured to 'form a Colony of His Majesty's Subjects, and persecuted *Pro-*

'*testants* from other Parts of *Europe*, had placed them on a 'fruitful Soil, and strove to secure them in their Possessions, by 'those Arts which naturally tend to keep the Colony full of 'useful and industrious People, capable both to cultivate and de-'fend it; or *Those*, who, to gratify the greedy and ambitious 'Views of a few Negroe Merchants, would put it into their Power 'to become sole Owners of the Province, by introducing their 'baneful Commodity; which, it is well known by sad Experience, 'has brought our Neighbour Colonies to the Brink of Ruin, by 'driving out their white Inhabitants, who were their Glory and 'Strength, to make room for Black, who are now become the 'Terror of their unadvised Masters.

Signed by Order of the Trustees,
this 20th Day of June, 1739.
Benj. Martyn, *Secretary.*

WE shall not in this Place detain the Reader, to shew the Absurdity and Insufficiency of the Reasons made use of in the above Paper, or how improperly it is called *an Answer to the Representation;* but refer them to the whole Tenor of *this Narrative.* With this Paper came over new Commissions for Magistrates, *viz.* Messrs. *Thomas Christie*, First, *John Fallowfield*, Second, and *Thomas Jones*, Third, Bailiffs, and Mr. *William Williamson*, Recorder: And, as if the Inhabitants had not been sufficiently punished before, by the *arbitrary* Government of *Causton*, the *Two* Offices of Store-keeper and Magistrate were again joined in *One* Person, which infallibly renders him (whoever he is) *absolute* in *Savannah;* and indeed, if the Miseries and Hardships of the People could have received any Addition, they must have done so from the Person appointed to execute those Offices, namely, Mr. *Thomas Jones*, Third Bailiff, as before mentioned, who surpass'd Mr. *Causton* in every Thing that was *bad*, without having any one of his *good* Qualifications; And that he might the more easily govern at Pleasure, Mr. *Oglethorpe* thought proper to supersede the Commissions of Messrs. *Thomas Christie* and *William Williamson*, and continued Mr. *Henry Parker* as First Magistrate, being sure he was a Person that would always be in the Interest of whoever was Store-keeper, and having no other Magistrate to cope with but Mr. *Fallowfield*, they were certain of over-ruling him, tho' his Sentiments were never so just; and when the General heard that some People justly complain'd, *that the Trustees Commissions were of none Effect;* he threatned an arm'd Force if they refused to comply.

William Stephens, Esq; Messrs. *Thomas Christie* and *Thomas Jones*, were likewise appointed to inspect into *Causton's* Accounts; but *Christie* was altogether rejected by the other *Two*; nor did

they ever do any Thing to the Purpose: Indeed *Jones* would sometimes hector and domineer over *Causton*, in as haughty a Manner as ever he had formerly done over the meanest Person in *Savannah*.

ALTHO' the Trustees say in their *Answer* to the Representation, *That they should think themselves very unfit for the Trust reposed in them, should they by an irrational Attempt alter the Entail of Lands*; yet not one Month after we had received the aforesaid Answer, over comes the following Paper, *viz.*

The RESOLUTIONS of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia *in* America, *in Common-Council assembled this 28th Day of* August *in the Year of our Lord* 1739; *relating to the Grants and Tenure of Lands within the said Colony.*

'WHEREAS the Common-Council of the said Trustees, 'assembled for that Purpose, in the Name of the Corpora- 'tion of the said Trustees, and under their Common Seal, *have*, 'in Pursuance of His Majesty's most gracious *Letters Patent*, 'and in Execution of the Trusts thereby reposed in them, *grant-* 'ed and conveyed divers Portions of the Lands, Tenements and 'Hereditaments in the said *Letters Patent* mentioned, to many 'of his Majesty's loving Subjects, natural born, and Denizens, 'and others willing to become His Subjects, and to live under 'Allegiance to His Majesty in the said Colony, *to hold* to them 'respectively, and to the Heirs Male of their respective Bodies, 'lawfully begotton, or to be begotton, under the several Rents, 'Reservations, Conditions and Provisoes therein contained; *And* 'whereas it hath been represented to the said Trustees, that many 'of the Persons to whom such Grants have been made, have no 'Issue Male of their respective Bodies, and that an Alteration in 'the Grants and Tenure of the said Lands, upon Failure of 'such Issue, and likewise a known certain Provision for the 'Widows of Tenants in Tail Male, would not only encourage all 'such Persons chearfully to go on with their several Improve- 'ments, but also be an *Inducement* and *Means* of inviting divers 'other Persons to resort to, and settle in the said Colony, and 'greatly tend to the Cultivation of the Lands, the Increase of 'the People, and the Defence, Strength and Security of the said 'Colony; which the said Trustees most earnestly desire to pro- 'mote, as far as in them lies: *It is therefore* this Day unanimous- 'ly *resolved* by the Common Council of the said Corporation, 'assembled for that Purpose, *That* the Grants of Lands or 'Tenements within the said Colony heretofore made and hereaf- 'ter to be made by the said Trustees to any Person or Persons

' whatsoever, shall be altered, made and established in Manner
' and Form following; *that is to say,* That
' If Tenant in Tail Male of Lands or Tenements in the said
' Colony, not having done or suffered any Act, Matter or Thing,
' whereby his Estate therein may be forfeited or determined, shall
' happen to die, leaving a Widow and one or more Child or Chil-
' dren; that then, and in such Case, the Widow of such Tenant
' shall hold and enjoy the Dwelling-House and Garden (if any
' such there be) and one Moiety of such Lands and Tenements
' for and during the Term of her Life; the said Moiety to be set
' out and divided, in case the Parties interested therein do not
' agree within the Space of *three Months*, by the Magistrates of
' the Town-court in *Georgia* nearest thereunto, or any *one* of
' them. And in case such Division be made by *one* of such
' Magistrates only, then any Person or Persons finding him, her
' or themselves aggrieved thereby, may within the Space of *three*
' *Months* appeal to the other *three* Magistrates of the said Town-
' court, whose Determination thereof shall be final. *And* if such
' Tenant shall happen to die, leaving only a Widow, and no
' Child or Children, then that such Widow shall hold and enjoy
' the said Dwelling-house, Garden, and all such Lands and
' Tenements, for and during the Term of her Life. *And* in case
' the Widow of any such Tenant, whether he die without Issue
' by her or not, shall marry again after his Decease, then such
' Person to whom she shall be so married, shall, within the Space
' of *Twelve Months* after such Marriage, give Security to the
' said Trustees, and their Successors, whether Personal, or other-
' wise, agreeable to such Instructions as shall be given by the
' Common Council of the said Trustees, for maintaining and
' keeping in repair, during such Marriage, the said Dwelling-
' house, Garden, and other the Premises to which she shall be
' so intitled in right of her former Husband: And if such Secur-
' ity shall not be given in manner aforesaid, within the Space of
' *twelve Months* after such Marriage, that then, and in such Case,
' the Provision hereby made, or intended to be made for the
' Benefit of such Widow, shall cease, determine and be absolutely
' void, to all Intents and Purposes; and the said Dwelling-house
' and Garden, and all and singular the Premises, shall be and enure
' to such Child or Children or to such other Person or Persons,
' who would be *intitled* to the same, in case the said Widow was
' naturally dead.
' *And* if Tenant in Tail Male of Lands or Tenements in the
' said Colony, not having done or suffered any Act, Matter or
' Thing, whereby his or her Estate therein may be forfeited or
' determined, shall happen to die, leaving *one* or *more* Daughter,

' or daughters and no Issue Male; then that such Lands and Tene-
' ments, if not exceeding *eighty* Acres, shall be holden in Tail Male
' by any *one* of the Daughters of such Tenant; and if exceeding
' *eighty* Acres, by any *one* or *more* of the Daughters of such Te-
' nant in Tail Male, as such Tenant shall by his or her last Will and
' Testament in Writing, duly executed in the Presence of *three*
' or *more* crebible Witnesses, direct and appoint; and in Default
' of such Direction or Appointment, then that such Lands and
' Tenements shall be holden in Tail Male by the eldest of such
' Daughters; and in Default of Issue Male and Female, either
' born in the Life-time of such Tenant in Tail Male, or within
' *nine Months* after his Decease, then that such Lands and Tene-
' ments, if not exceeding *eighty* Acres, shall be holden in Tail
' Male by any *one* such Person; and if exceeding *eighty* Acres,
' by any *one or more* such Person or Persons, as such Tenant in
' Tail Male by his or her last Will and Testament in Writings
' executed as aforesaid, shall direct and appoint, and in Default
' of such Direction or Appointment, then that such Lands and
' Tenements shall be holden in Tail Male by the Heir at Law of
' such Tenant; *subject nevertheless*, in all any every the said
' Cases, to such Right of the Widow (if any) as aforesaid,
' *Provided* That such Daughter or Daughters, and all and every
' such Person or Persons so intitled to hold and enjoy any such
' Lands and Tenements, do within the Space of *twelve Months*
' after the Death of such Tenant, personally appear, if residing
' in *America*, and claim the same in any of the Town-courts in
' *Georgia*; and if residing out of *America*, then within the
' Space of *Eighteen Months* next after the Death of such Tenant.
' *And Provided also*, That no such Devise or Appointment shall
' be made by any such Tenant of Lands exceeding *eighty*
' Acres, in any lesser or smaller Portion or Parcel than *fifty*
' Acres to *any one* Daughter, or other Person. *And* that no
' Daughter, or other Person shall be capable of enjoying any
' Devise, which may thereby increase his or her former Possession
' of Lands within the said Colony to more than *Five Hundred*
' Acres; but such Devise to be void, and the Lands thereby
' given, to descend in such manner as if no such Devise had been
' made. *And* in Default of such Appearance and Claim, as
' aforesaid, That all and singular the said Lands and Tenements
' shall be and remain to the said Trustees, and their Successors
' for ever. *Provided also*, That all and every such Estates
' hereby created or intended to be created, shall be subject and
' liable to the several Rents, Reservations, Provisoes and Condi-
' tions, as in the original Grants thereof are particularly mention-
' ed and contained; *save and except* so much thereof as is hereby

' altered, or intended to be altered, in case of Failure of Issue
' Male, and the Provision hereby made or intended to be made
' for Widows.

' *And* that in every Grant hereafter to be made by the said
' Trustees or their Successors, of any *Lands* or *Tenements* in the
' said Colony, all and every Grantee therein named, not doing or
' suffering any Act, Matter or Thing whereby his or her Estate
' therein may be forfeited or determined, shall have good Right,
' full Power, and lawful Authority to give and devise the same
' by his or her last Will and Testament in Writing, duly exe-
' cuted in the Presence of *three* or *more* credible Witnesses, in
' manner and form following, *that is to say*, Every Grantee of
' Lands not exceeding *eighty* Acres, to any *one* Son or any *one*
' Daughter in Tail Male; and every Grantee of Lands exceeding
' *eighty* Acres, the whole, or any part thereof, but not in lesser
' Lots or Portions than *fifty* Acres to any *one* Devisee, to his or
' her *Son* or *Sons*, *Daughter* or *Daughters* in Tail Male; and in
' Default of such Devise as aforesaid, then that such *Lands and*
' *Tenements* shall descend to the eldest Son in Tail Male; and in
' Default of Issue Male, to the eldest Daughter in Tail Male;
' and in Default of Issue Male and Female, then that such *Lands*
' *and Tenements* shall be holden in Tail Male, if not exceeding
' *eighty* Acres, by any *one* such Person; and if exceeding *eighty*
' Acres, by any *one or more* such Person or Persons, but not in
' any smaller Lot or Portion than *fifty* Acres to any *one* Person
' as such Grantee shall by his or her last Will and Testament in
' Writing, executed as aforesaid, direct and appoint; and in
' Default of such Direction or Appointment, then that such *Lands*
' *and Tenements* shall be holden in Tail Male by the Heir at
' Law of such Grantee; *subject nevertheless* to such Right of the
' Widow (if any) as aforesaid, *Provided always*, That no Son,
' Daughter or other Person shall be capable of enjoying any
' Devise which may thereby increase his or her former Possession
' of Land within the said Colony, to more than *five Hundred*
' Acres; but such Devise to be void, and the Lands thereby given,
' to descend in such manner as if no such Devise had been made.
' *Provided also*, That such Son or Sons, Daughter or Daughters,
' and all and every such Person or Persons intitled to hold and
' enjoy any such *Lands and Tenements*, do within the Space of
' *twelve Months* after the Death of *such Grantee*, or of *those*
' under whom they claim, personally appear, if residing in *Amer-*
' *ica*, and claim the same in any of the Town-courts in *Georgia*;
' and if residing out of *America*, then within the Space of *eigh-*
' *teen Months* next after such Death; and in Default of such
' Appearance and Claim as aforesaid, That all and singular the

' said *Lands and Tenements* shall be and remain to the said ' Trustees, and their Successors for ever. *And Provided also*, ' That all and every such Estates shall be subject and liable to ' the like Rents, Reservations, Provisoes and Conditions, as in ' the former Grants of Lands heretofore made, *save and except* ' so much thereof as is hereby altered, or intended to be altered, ' upon the Failure of Issue Male.

' *And it is hereby required*, That Publick Notice of these ' Resolutions be forthwith given by the Magistrates of the ' respective Town-courts in *Georgia*, and also by the Secretary ' of the said Trustees in *London*, that all and every the Grantees ' of Lands or Tenements within the said Colony, may enter ' their respective Claims, either at the *Georgia Office* near *Old* ' *Palace Yard* in *Westminister*, or in any of the Town-courts in ' *Georgia*, within the Space of *twelve Months* from the Date ' hereof, to the end that they may receive the Benefit hereby ' intended, and that proper Grants and Conveyances in the Law ' may be forthwith prepared and executed for that Purpose. ' And it is hereby expressly declared, That no Fee or Reward ' shall be taken for the Entering of any such Claim, directly or ' indirectly, by any Person or Persons whatsoever.

Signed by Order of the said Common Council,
BENJAMIN MARTYN, *Secretary.*

WE believe this Paper will perplex most People, who have not thoroughly studied the Law, to make Sense of it; and as there were no Lawyers in *Georgia*, it would seem as if it had been sent over with no other End, than that it should not be understood; and indeed it rather tended to add to the Confusions in the Colony, than to promote the Benefit of it: We can only assure the *Reader*, that it had no good Effect in *Georgia*, and that it was kept up there as much as possible from the People, only a fictitious Abridgment thereof, with the same Title and the same Way signed, being publickly exhibited in Writing; but this was a needless Caution; for not *One* in *Twenty* of them would have understood any one Paragraph of it. In *October*, 1739, the General issues out his Proclamation for Granting *Letters of Marque and Reprisals;* and the Inhabitants being called together in the Court-House, he there makes them a very elaborate Speech, and, amongst other Things, tells them, *That he was design'd against* St. Augustine, *and if he did not take it, he would leave his Bones before the Walls thereof:* But he is now at *Frederica*, and, as we have too much Reason to believe, this Castle is still in the Hands of the *Spaniards*. A little after this we had another Instance how much our Benefactors had our

Interest and Welfare at Heart; for at this Time it was given out, *That all the Cattle that were unmark'd, belong'd to the Trustees as Lords of the Mannor;* and Orders were given that they should be mark'd accordingly; but People strenuously insisting to the Contrary, the Design was dropt for that Time. On the 4*th* of *November* Mr. *Oglethorpe* departed from *Savannah;* and he now seems to have intirely forgot it; and it is certain, that ever since the Affair of the Representation, according to his own Words, *the very Name of the Place is become hateful to him, as are all those who he thought were Ring-Leaders in that Affair;* some of whom he endeavour'd to threaten and bribe to a Recantation, but to little Purpose; *two* or *three* being the most (to the best of our Knowledge) that he could gain, and even those, we believe, never gave any Thing under their Hands. One flagrant Instance of the indirect Practices he used to draw People into his Measures was as follows: *In Summer, 1739, (when it was thought the Representation would have succeeded) Messrs. *Grant*, *Douglass*, *Stirling* and *Bailie*, who had been old Settlers in the Colony, and who had in a manner ruin'd themselves, as others had done, either by Planting or Building, wrote to the Trustees for an Island, and at the same Time applied to Mr. *Oglethorpe* for it; he appeared mighty glad at their Resolution, and told them, *That if they would agree to what he had to propose, the Granting of an Island should be Nothing in respect to what he would do for them:* They told him, *They would do any Thing that was consistent with their Knowledge and Conscience:* Then they were dismissed, and the next Day they were to know his Mind; *that* being come, two of his Emissaries were sent separately with Proposals; which they afterwards wrote in order to be signed, but refused a Copy thereof: These Proposals were to the following Effect, *viz.* To acknowledge they were in the Wrong for having any Hand in the Making or Signing the Representation; to ask the General's Pardon for so doing; and to assert, that they believed the Colony might flourish according to the *then* present Constitution: These Things complied with, they should have what Money they were pleas'd to ask for, with Horses, Cattle and every Thing else they wanted, together with the General's perpetual Friendship and Assistance: If not complied with, they might expect Nothing but his highest Resentment. They answered, *That they never expected, nor did they think they ever asked for any Favours from the General, and as for his Resentment, they believed they had already felt the Utmost of it.* In whatever Shape the General wrote

* There are particular Affidavits to prove this whole Affair.

Home of this Affair, is not known; but however, from what he wrote, the Trustees thought fit, at first, positively to deny their Request, in a Letter which came to their Hands in *July*, 1740. of which this is an exact Copy.

To Messrs. Grant, Douglass *and* Bailie, *at* Savannah, *in* Georgia.

Gentlemen, *Georgia-Office, March* 25, 1740.

THE *Trustees for establishing the Colony of* Georgia, *have received and read your Letter of* May 26, 1739, *by which they find you have abandoned your Settlements upon the* Ogeeche *River, for the following Reasons;* because you are not allow'd to have black Servants to cultivate your Lands, *and* because you dislik'd the Tenure of your Grants.

As to the First, *you must have seen by the Trustees Answer to the Representation of some of the People, that they cannot, and will not break into the Constitution of the Province, by such an Introduction of Slavery in Blacks; and that upon the most mature Deliberation, and for the strongest Reasons; which indeed are obvious to every considering Man, and which they are confirm'd in by the Danger which has lately threatned* South-Carolina, *by the Insurrection of the Negroes, and would be more imminent in* Georgia, *it being a Frontier.*

As to the Last, *relating to the Tenure of Lands, the Trustees suppose you may have seen the Alteration which they have made since the Writing of your Letter, and they have no doubt but you are satisfied therewith, as the rest of the Colony are.*

The Trustees have likewise received and considered your Petition to General Oglethorpe, *for a Settlement on* Wilmington Island; *and his Answers thereto, which they think are of great Force, and therefore they cannot make you a Grant there, but hope you will go on improving your Settlements on the* Ogeeche *River, which they perceive by your Letter* May 26. *that you had made a great Progress in.*

I am, *Gentlemen*,
Your very Humble Servant,
Benj. Martyn, Secretary.

To this they returned the following *Answer.*

To the Honourable the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia *in* America, *at their Office near* Old Palace Yard, Westminister.

Honourable Gentlemen,

'WE have received a Letter signed by your Secretary, of the 25*th March* last, owning the Receipt of ours to the Trustees

for establishing the Colony of *Georgia*, dated the 26*th May*, 1739, in which we set forth the Expence we had been at in prosecuting our Settlement on the *Ogeeche* River, together with the Impossibility of carrying on any Settlement with Success in this Colony, according to the present Constitution; as an additional Confirmation of which, we then presented your Honours with an Accompt current, carried on from the Commencement of our Settlement on the *Ogeeche*, and continued till we were drove thence by the strongest Appearances of Destruction, arising from the having expended our *ALL* in the strenuous Prosecution of an impracticable Scheme: And here we must beg Leave to observe, That it appears to us, you have neither considered our Letter or Accompt; otherwise you never would have advis'd us to return to a Place on which we have already in vain consumed so much Time and Money.

'We have seen and seriously considered every Paragraph of a printed Paper, entitled, *The Answer of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of* Georgia *in* America, *to the Representation from the Inhabitants of* Savannah; which, in our humble Opinion, is *no Answer at all*; but rather an *absolute* Refusal of Demands to which we are legally entitled, under the specious Pretences of Guardianship and Fatherly Care; without having answer'd *one* Sentence, or confuted by Strength of Argument, *any* part of our Assertions.

'Because our Neighbouring Province (of which you are pleas'd to take Notice) has by an Introduction of *too* great Numbers, abus'd the Use of Negroes; or, because an undoubted Property in our Land Possessions might prove detrimental or hurtful to idle, profligate or abandon'd People; it does not at all follow, that we should be debarr'd the Use of Negroes for the Field, or the more laborious Parts of Culture, under prudent Limitations; or that sober and virtuous Men should be depriv'd of just Titles to their Properties.

'We are surprized that your Honours mention the Representations of the People of the *Darien*, as a Confirmation of the Unreasonableness of our Demands: For did your Honours know the Motives by which these People were induced to present you with one or more Petitions, contradictory to our Representation, the Welfare of the Colony, and their own Consciences; we are persuaded you never would have offer'd them as Reasons for rejecting the Representation from *Savannah:* They were bought with a Number of Cattle, and extensive Promises of future Rewards; a little *present* Interest made them forget or neglect their *Posterity;* whereas the People of this Place, duly sensible of the Miseries and Calamities they

'have suffered, and do still labour under, *freely* and *voluntarily* 'put their Hands to the Representation of this Part of the Pro-'vince: No *artful* Means were used to induce them to it; no 'artful Man or Men, Negro Merchants or others, persuaded 'them to it: *Dismal* Poverty and the most *absolute* Oppression 'were the *true* Fountains from whence our Complaints proceed-'ed. But how miserably were these *inconsiderate* deluded 'Wretches rewarded? They were soon after carried against *St.* '*Augustine*, placed on a dangerous Post, where they were all or 'most of them cut off or taken Prisoners by the Enemy; which 'has put a Period to the Settlement of *Darien*, of which so 'many great Things have been falsy reported.

'With Regard to our *Representation*, we shall only beg Leave 'to make one Supposition, which it's almost impossible can have 'happen'd, *viz.* That this and all the other *Representations*, '*Letters*, *Suits* or *Petitions*, made to the Trustees by private or 'a joint Number of Persons, have been entirely false and ground-'less: What can have reduced the Colony to the *Situation* in 'which it now is? What can have reduc'd it's Inhabitants to *one* '*Sixth Part* of the Number which we have known to reside 'here? Or, *lastly*, to what is the starving and despicable *Condi-'tion* of the Few that are now left, owing? Is it not, as well as 'every other Matter which we have before urg'd, owing to and 'occasion'd by the unanswerable Reasons at different Times 'given and laid before your Honours, by honest Men (indepen-'dent of you) who were and are the chief Sufferers in this 'Colony; and who could not be *brib'd* to conceal or *terrify'd* 'from declaring their Sentiments?

'Your Honours may readily and safely join issue with us in 'our Appeal to Posterity, *who were their best* **Friends*, &c. for 'it's certain and obvious, that if the Trustees are resolved to 'adhere to their *present Constitution*, they or their Successors 'are in no great Danger of being called to any Account by our 'Posterity in *Georgia*.

'We have likewise seen and read the Alterations Mr. *Martyn* 'mentions to have been made by your Honours, with regard to 'the *Tenure of Lands*; together with a fictious Abridgement 'of the same affix'd to the most publick Places at *Savannah*.

'Mr. *Martyn* in his Letter is pleas'd to tell us, *That your* '*Honours imagine we are satisfied therewith, as the rest of the* '*Colony are*? Some few perhaps may have express'd themselves 'satisfied; but we will say no worse of such few, than that your 'Honours will soon be sensible, that even *they* are Deceivers.

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* Vide Answer to the Representation.

' It's true, such *Alterations*, and the Paper, entitled, *An Answer to* our *Representation*, above mentioned, are artfully penn'd, ' and will doubtless for a Time, amuse even Men of the best ' Sense in *Europe*, or elsewhere, who are Strangers to the ' Colony of *Georgia*; but any Man of common Understanding, ' or the least Penetration, who by an *unfortunate* Experience, ' has been well acquainted with *that* Colony, can easily demonstrate, that those very Papers are further Snares to increase our ' Miseries; as it's impossible we can be enabled by these *Alterations* to subsist ourselves and Families any more than before, ' far less to put us in a Capacity of recovering our already sunk ' Fortunes and Loss of Time. Some Time in the Summer 1739, ' (whilst we still expected agreeable Alterations to have succeeded our *Representation*) we applied more than once to General ' *Oglethorpe*, as one of the Trustees, for the same Tract of Land ' which we have since been refused by your Honours: But our ' Petitions and Applications were rejected; and for what Reason? Because indeed we refused to *contradict* what we had before ' set forth in our *Representation*, so and become Villians, as (we ' have to much Reason to believe) some others on the same ' Occasion were: We wou'd not accept of *Settlements*, *Sums of* ' *Money*, *Horses*, *Cattle* and *other valuable Considerations*, at ' the Expence of *Betraying our Country*, and *Contradicting* ' *our Consciences*, by signing a Paper, which was prepared and ' offered to us, purporting a *Repentence of the Measures* we had ' taken for our own and the Relief of other distress'd *British* ' Subjects; and consequently an *Approbation* of a Scheme which, ' by all Appearance, seems to have been calculated and prepared to form a Colony of Vassals, whose *Properties* and ' *Liberties* were *at all Times*, to have been dispos'd of at the ' Discretion or Option of their Superiors.

' Such and many other *Methods of Corruption* have been *too* ' *often* practised in this Colony; but we refus'd and scorn'd such ' Actions, from Principles of which every honest Man ought to ' be possessed.

' We are not surprized to find, That we have in vain applied ' to your Honours in several Affairs, when we see you have been ' hitherto prepossessed by a Gentleman of superiour Interest, ' with Informations and Assertions full of *Resentment*, and which ' we well know cannot stand the Test of an *impartial Examination;* but we are amazed and sorry to find, That he has had for ' so many Years together, the Interest of Nominating *Those*, who ' have been appointed from Time to Time, for the *Administration* ' *of Justice*, and making an *impartial* Enquiry into and informing ' your Honours of the *real* Situation of the Colony of *Georgia*;

we say, such who have been *implicity* obedient in carrying on his *arbitrary* Schemes of Government, and *oppressing* the Inhabitants, as well an *conniving* at the Deceiving your Honours and the Nation!

'*Gentlemen*, As we have no Favours to ask, or Resentments to fear, we may with the greater Freedom observe, That we are in full Hopes, *that all* we can *justly* ask, will be granted us by a *British Parliament*, who we doubt not, will soon make an Enquiry into the Grievances of *oppressed Subjects*, which have formerly inhabited, or do now inhabit the Colony of *Georgia*; That Colony which has cost so great an Expence to the Nation, and from which so great Benefits, were promis'd and expected!

'We are sensible of the Freedoms which have been used with our respective Characters, in the *Misrepresentation* sent your Honours by *partial* Men: Nor are we less sensible, that the Majority of the Trustees have been kept in the Dark, with regard to our *just Complaints* and *Representations*; or that such *Complaints* have been communicated to them in Lights *distant from Truth*; insomuch that, we have Reason to believe, *two Thirds* of the Honourable Board are either misinform'd of or are entire Strangers to the barbarous and destructive Schemes carried on in this miserable Colony.

'We hope it will e'er long appear to your Honours and the World (whatever has been advanced to the contrary) That we are *honest* Men, free from any *base* Design, free from any *mutinous* Spirit; who have only *stood firm* for the Recovery of our *lost Privileges*, which have been secretly and under the most specious Pretences withdrawn from us by some *designing* and *self-interested* Men.

'We should be sorry to write disrespectfully of any *one* of the Trustees; but when *distressed* and *oppressed* People arrive at the last Extremities, it must be supposed, they will neither be *asham'd* to publish their Misfortunes, or *affraid* of imputing their Calamities to the Fountain from whence they spring.

'Far be it from us in any Shape to reflect in general on the Honourable Board, who we still believe are Gentlemen of *Honour* and *Reputation*, who would not be accessary to any *sinister* or *base* Designs; but we can't help thinking, that they are deluded, and brought to pursue Measures inconsistent with the Welfare and Prosperity of the Colony, by *some* who of the *whole* Corporation are only acquainted with the particular Situation of it; and who must therefore wilfully and from Design, form and prepare destructive Schemes for the perishing Inhabitants of *Georgia*; and by *unfair* Representations of Persons and

'Things, draw the *Approbation* of the greater Part of the Hon-
'ourable Board, to such Measures for the *Oppression* of His
'Majesty's Subjects, which they would, if they were impartially
'inform'd, scorn to think of, far less agree to.

'General *Oglethorpe* with all his Forces, has been obliged to
'raise the Siege of *St. Augustine*, and we have Reason to believe
'the impending Ruin of this Colony will be thereby determined;
'for the *Spaniards* are reinforced; the General's Army harrassed
'and weaken'd, and the *Indians* provoked and discontented; so
'that every Thing *looks* with the *most dismal* Aspect. But as
'his *Conduct in*, and the *Consequences of* these Affairs, will be
'soon published to the World; and as we doubt not we have
'already incurred your Honour's Displeasure, by reciting thus
'freely the many *Hardships* which we have here and formerly
'asserted to have been the Causes of our Ruin; We shall now
'forbear, and conclude by adding, That the *Extremity* of our
'Misfortunes has at last rendered us utterly incapable of staying
'here any longer: And tho' all the Money we have expended
'on Improvements in the Colony, is now of no *Advantage* to us
'here, nor can be elsewhere; yet poor as we are, we shall think
'ourselves happy when we are gone from a Place where Nothing
'but *Poverty* and *Oppression* subsists: Therefore we hope, if
'ever *this* or any *other* Paper or Letter of ours shall appear in
'Publick; your Honours will impute such Publication to have
'proceeded from no other Motives, besides a thorough Know-
'ledge of our Duty to ourselves, our Fellow Subjects and Suf-
'ferers, and to prevent others for the Future from being deluded
'in the same Manner as we have been, who are, with the great-
'test Respect,

Honourable Gentlemen,
Your most humble Servants.
Signed, *Da. Douglass,*
Wm. Stirling, Tho. Baillie.

Georgia, Savannah,
10 *August*, 1740.

ABOUT the latter End of *May*, 1740, Mr. *Oglethorpe* set out with his Regiment for *Florida*, and soon after the *Carolina* Forces (consisting of about *Six Hundred* Men) joined him, with about *Three Hundred Indians*, and *Sixty High-Landers* Volunteers from *Darien*, who were buoyed up by the General with the mighty Hopes of Reward; besides several Stragglers and Boatmen from other Parts of the Province and elsewhere; so that, exclusive of *six Men of War*, there might be about *Fifteen Hundred* effective Men asssisting at the Siege (as it was called) of the Castle of *St. Augustine:* But we shall take no further Notice of this Affair, than as it has affected or may still affect

the Colony of *Georgia:* The Place being alarm'd, the *High-Landers*, with some others, making in all *One Hundred and Forty One* Men, were posted at *Musa*, (this was a small Fort about a Mile distant from the Castle which had been abandoned by the *Spaniards* at the General's first Approach) where they were soon after attacked by a superior Force of the Enemy, and a miserable Slaughter ensued, scarcely *one Third* of the Number escaping, the others being either killed or taken Prisoners. Thus these poor People, who, at the Expence of their Consciences, sign'd a Representation contrary to their own Interest and Experience, and gave themselves entirely up to the General's Service; by their Deaths at once freed his Excellency from his Debts and Promises, and put an End to the Settlement of *Darien;* for there are now in that Place not *one quarter* Part of the Number who settled there at first, and *that* is made up chiefly of Women and Children; and a Scout-Boat is stationed before the Town to prevent any of them from going off.

THIS Siege was raised about the latter End of *July;* the General with the Remainder of his Regiment returned to *Frederica;* the *Carolina* Forces were shipped off for that Province: the few *Georgians* that were left repaired, as soon as they were allowed, to their several Homes in a miserable Condition; and the *Indians* marched towards their respective Countries, very much weakened and discontented; the *Cherokees* returned (as they came) by *Savannah*, and of *One Hundred and Ten* healthy Men, only about *Twenty* got to their Nation, the Rest either perished by Sickness or were slain; And thus ended the Campaign in *Florida*.

DURING these Transactions, *Savannah* decayed apace, and in *August* and *September* the same Year, People went away by *Twenties* in a Vessel, insomuch that one would have thought the Place must have been intirely forsaken; for in these *two* Months about *One Hundred* Souls out of the County of *Savannah* left the Colony; many others have since left it, and, we believe, more will leave it very soon.

The Boats with their Hands which the General employed at that unfortunate Expedition, he neither will pay, subsist or let depart from that Place; however they are stealing away by Degrees:* And at this Time, of about *Five Thousand* Souls that had, at various Imbarkations, arrived in the Colony of *Georgia*, (exclusive of the Regiment) scarce as *many Hundreds* remain; and *those* consist of the *Saltzbur-*

October, 1740.

* We are now informed, they are all got away, some of them being paid and some not.

ghers at *Ebenezer*, who are yearly supported from *Germany* and *England;* the People of *Frederica*, who are supported by Means of the Regiment; the poor Remainder of the *Darien;* a few Orphans, and others under that Denomination, supported by Mr. *Whitefield;* together with some *Dutch* Servants maintain'd for doing Nothing by the Trustees, with *Thirty* or *Forty* necessary Tools to keep the others in Subjection: And *Those* make up the poor Remains of the miserable Colony of *GEORGIA!**

HAVING now brought down this Work to the Month of *October*, 1740, being about the Time most of the Authors of this *NARRATIVE* were obliged to leave that *fatal* Colony; we shall conclude the whole with a Geographical and Historical Account of its present State.

GEORGIA lies in the 30 and 31 Degrees of North Latitude: The *Air* generally clear, the *Rains* being much shorter as well as heavier than in *England;* the *Dews* are very great; *Thunder* and *Lightning* are expected almost every Day in *May*, *June*, *July* and *August;* they are very terrible, especially to a Stranger: During those Months, from *Ten* in the Morning to *Four* in the Afternoon, the *Sun* is extreamly scorching; but the *Sea-breeze* sometimes blows from *Ten* till *Three* or *Four*: The *Winter* is nearly of the same Length as in *England;* but the *Mid-day Sun* is always warm, even when the *Mornings* and *Evenings* are very sharp, and the *Nights* piercing Cold.

The *Land* is of *Four* Sorts; *Pine Barren*, *Oak Land*, *Swamp* land *Marsh*. The *Pine* Land is of far the greatest Extent, especialy near the Sea-Coasts: The *Soil* of this is a dry whitish Sand, producing Shrubs of several Sorts, and between them a harsh coarse kind of Grass, which Cattle do not love to feed upon; but here and there is a little of a better Kind, especially in the *Savannas*, (so they call the low watry Meadows which are usually intermixed with Pine Lands:) It bears naturally *two* sorts of Fruit; *Hurtle-Berries* much like those in *England* and *Chinquopin-Nuts*, a dry Nut about the Size of a small Acorn: A laborious Man may in *one* Year clear and plant *four* or *five* Acres of this Land; it will produce, the *first* Year from *two* to *four* Bushels of *Indian Corn*, and from *four* to *eight* of *Indian Pease*, per Acre; the *second* Year it usually bears much about the same; the *third*, less; the *fourth*, little or nothing: *Peaches* it bears well; likewise the *White Mulberry*, which serves to feed the Silk-Worms; the *Black* is about the Size of a *Black Cherry*, and has much the same Flavour.

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* It is here to observ'd, that we have excluded the Settlement of *Augusta*, it being upon a quite different Footing.

The *Oak Land* commonly lies in narrow Streaks between *Pine Land* and *Swamps*, *Creeks* or *Rivers*; The *Soil* is a blackish Sand, producing several Kinds of *Oak*, *Bay*, *Laurel*, *Ash*, *Wallnut*, *Sumach* and *Gum* Trees, a sort of *Sycamore*, *Dog* Trees and *Hickory*. In the choicest Part of this Land grow *Parsimon* Trees, and a few *Black Mulberry* and *American Cherry* Trees: The common *wild Grapes* are of *two* sorts, both red; the *Fox Grape* grow two or three only on a Stalk, is thick-skin'd, large ston'd, of a harsh Taste, and of the Size of a small Cherry; the *Cluster Grape* is of a harsh Taste too, and about the Size of a white Curran. This Land requires much Labour to clear; but when it is cleared, it will bear any Grain, for *three*, *four* or *five* Years sometimes without laying any Manure upon it: An Acre of it generally produces *Ten* Bushels of *Indian Corn*, besides *five* of *Pease*, in a Year; so that this is justly esteem'd the most valuable Land in the Province, white People being incapable to clear and cultivate the Swamps.

A *Swamp* is any low watry Place, which is covered with Trees or Canes: They are here of *three* sorts, *Cypress*, *River* and *Cane* Swamps: *Cypress Swamps* are mostly large Ponds, in and round which Cypresses grow: Most *River Swamps* are overflown on every Side by the River which runs through or near them; if they were drain'd they would produce good Rice: as would the *Cane Swamps* also, which in the mean Time are the best Feeding for all Sorts of Cattle.

The *Marshes* are of *two* sorts; *soft wet Marsh* which is all a Quagmire, and absolutely good for Nothing, and *hard Marsh*, which is a firm Sand; but however at some Seasons is good for feeding Cattle: Marshes of both sorts abound on the Sea-Islands, which are very numerous, and contain all sorts of Land; and upon these chiefly, near Creeks and Runs of Water, Ceder Trees grow.

We shall only add to the above, That considering no Land can be sowed (or at least what is sowed preserved) till the same is inclosed, that *five* Acres is the utmost a very able and laborious Man can propose to manage; this being the Quantity allotted for the Task of a Negro in the Neighbouring Province, which Negro works *four* Hours each Day more than a white Man can do.

It must next be noticed, that with regard to the above Returns (suppose a prosperous Season without Disappointments; which is not the Case in such small Improvements as can be expected in an infant Colony *one* Year in *five*) either Drought burns or Rain drowns the Corn, and makes the Pease fall out of the Pod; Deer (which no Fences can exclude) devour those little Settlements in a Night; Rats and Squirrels do the same; Birds

eat the Seed out of the Ground, and dig up the Blade after it is spired; and variety of Worms and Insects devour the one Half of it: But let us suppose none of those Evils happened, let us view the Amount of the Produce valued at the highest Rate.

The Produce of five *Acres of Pine Land raised by one Hand, the first Year,*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	
Indian Corn, 20 Bushels at 10*s.* Currency per Bushel.	1	5	0	*Sterling.*
Indian Pease, 40 Bush. at *ditto.*	2	10	0	
Total of *first* Years Produce,	3	15	0	

The *second* Year the same; the *third* less, the *fourth* little or nothing.

Best Oak Land, five *Acres*, at 15 Bushels of Corn and Pease *per* Acre, is 75 Bushels at *ditto* Price, is 4*l.* 13*s.* 9*d. Sterling.*

Let us next consider the Maintenance of every single white Servant *per Annum*, at the lowest Rate, and then the Reader will be able to judge, whether white People can get their Livelihood by planting Land in this Climate without Negroes? And the Allowance to the Trustees Dutch Servants being the Least at which any white Servant could be maintained in *Georgia*, we shall therefore take our Estimation from it, which is *Eight Pence Sterling per Day* or 12*l.* 3*s.* 4*d. Sterl. per Annum*; so that at a Medium, the Expence is three Times greater than the Produce, besides Tools, Medicines and other Necessaries.

We must likewise observe, that the Proportion of *Pine Barren* to either good *Swamp* or *Oak* and *Hickory Land*, is at least *six* to *one;* that the far greater Number of the small Lots have none or very little *Oak* Land; and if they had *Swamp* that would bear Rice, white People are unable to clear them if they are covered with Trees, and tho' only with Canes, which is the easiest to cultivate; it were simply impossible to manufacture the Rice by white Men; the Exercise being so severe, that no Negro can be employed in any other Work or Labour comparable to it, and many *Hundreds* of them (notwithstanding all the Care of their Masters) yearly lose their Lives by that necessary Work.

SAVANNAH stands on a flat Bluff (so they term a high Land hanging over a Creek or River) which rises about *Forty* Feet perpendicular from the River, and commands it several Miles *both* upwards and downwards, and it if was not for a Point of Woods which about *four* Miles down the River, stretches itself out towards the South-East, one might have a View of the Sea, and the Island of *Tybee:* The Soil is a white Sand

for above a Mile in Breadth South-East and North-West; beyond this, Eastward, is a River Swamp; Westward, a small Body of Wood-land, (in which was the old Indian Town) separated by a Creek from a large Tract of Land, which runs upwards along the Side of the River, for the Space of about *five* Miles; and being, by far, the best near the Town is reserved for the *Indians*, as General *Oglethorpe* declares, as are also some of the Islands in the River *Savannah*, and the *three* most valuable Islands upon all the Coast of that Province, *viz. Ossiba*, *St. Katherine* and *Sapula*. South-West of the Town is a Pine Barren that extends about *fourteen* Miles to *Vernon* River.

On the East Side of the Town is situated the *Publick Garden* (being *ten* Acres inclos'd, on a barren Piece of Land, where it is hardly possible for what is planted to live, but impossible to thrive; and from this Garden were all the Planters to have been furnished with *Mulberry-Trees*, *&c.*

The Plan of the Town was beautifully laid out in Wards, Tythings, and Publick Squares left at proper Distances for Markets and Publick Buildings; the Whole making an agreeable Uniformity.

The Publick Works in this Town are, 1*st*, A *Court-house* being one handsome Room with a piache on three Sides: This likewise, serves for a *Church* for Divine Service; none having been ever built, notwithstanding the Trustees in their Publick Acts, acknowledge the Receipt of about *Seven Hundred Pounds Sterling*, from charitable Persons for that express Purpose.

2*dly*, Opposite to the Court-House stands the *Logg House* or *Prison* (which is the only one remaining of *five* or *six* that have been successively built in *Savannah*) that Place of Terror and Support of *absolute* Power in *Georgia*.

3*dly*, Nigh thereto is a House built of *Loggs*, at a very great Charge, as was said, for the Trustees Steward; the Foundation below Ground is already rotten,* as the whole Fabrick must be in a short Time; for the Roof being flat, the Rain comes in at all Parts of it.

4*th*, The *Store-house*, which has been many Times altered and amended at a very great Charge; and it now serves as a Store for the private Benefit of *one* or *two*, as before mentioned.

5*th*, The *Guard-house*, which was first built on the Bluff soon decayed; as did a second thro' improper Management; this now standing being the *third*. Several *Flag-Staffs* were likewise erected, the last of which, according to common Report, cost 50 *l. Sterling*.

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* In *August*, 1740, a new Foundation was begun.

6*th*, A *Publick Mill* for grinding Corn, was first erected at a considerable Expence, in one Square of the Town; but in about *three* Years Time (without doing the least Service) it fell to the Ground: In another Square of the Town a *second* was set up, at a far greater Expence, but never finished, and is now erased and converted into a House for entertaining the *Indians*, and other such like Uses.

7*th*, *Wells* and *Pumps* were made at a great Charge; but they were immediately choaked up, and never rendered useful, though this Grievance was frequently represented both to the General and Magistrates; the Want of Wells obliging the Inhabitants to use the *River Water*, which all the Summer over is polluted with putrid Marshes and the numberless Insects that deposite their Ova there, together with putrified Carcasses of Animals and corrupted Vegetables; and this no doubt occasion'd much of the Sickness that swept off many.

Several of the Houses which were built by Free-holders, for Want of Heirs Male, are fallen to the Trustees (even to the Prejudice of the lawful Creditors of the Deceased) and are disposed of as the General thinks proper.

At least *Two Hundred* Lots were taken up in *Savannah*, about *One Hundred and Seventy* of which were built *upon; a great many of these are now ruinous, and many more shut up and abandoned; so that the Town appears very desolate, scarce *one quarter* part of it's Inhabitants being left, and most of those in a miserable Condition, for Want of the proper Necessaries of Life.

St. SIMONS Island, having on the East the Gulf of *Florida*, on the other sides Branches of the *Alatamaha*, is about *One Hundred* Miles South of *Savannah*, and extends in Length about *Twenty*, in Breadth from *two* to *five* Miles: On the West Side of it, on a low Bluff, stands *FREDERICA*; having Woods to the North and South, to the East partly Woods, partly Savannas and partly Marsh.

The soil is mostly blackish Sand; the Fortifications are augmented since the Retreat from *Augustine*, and here lie most of the Remains of General *Oglethorpe's* Regiment: *Frederica* was laid out in Form of a Crescent, divided into *One Hundred and Forty Four* Lots whereof about *Fifty* were built upon; the Number of the Inhabitants, notwithstanding of the Circulation of the Regiment's Money, are not above *One Hundred and Twenty*, Men, Women and Children, and these are daily stealing away by all possible Ways. On the Sea Point, about *five* Miles

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* Several of these had more than one House upon them.

South East of the Town, were *three* Companies of the Soldiers stationed before the Attempt upon *St. Augustine;* several pretty Houses were built by the Officers, and many Lots set off to the Soldiers and entered upon by them; most if not all now desolate. Several of the Officers of the Regiment brought over Servants to cultivate Land; Col. *Cochran* 20 Servants; Lieut. *Horton* at *Jekyl*, 16 Servants; Capt. *Gascoign* at least as many; all gone; and, according to the best of our Information, about *Two Hundred* of the Regiment are diminished.

About *Twenty* Miles North-West from *St. Simons*, is *DARIEN*, the Settlement of the *Scots High-Landers;* the Town is situate on the Main Land, close to a Branch of the *Alatamaha* River, on a Bluff *Twenty* Feet high; the Town is surrounded on all sides with Woods; the Soil is a blackish Sand: Here were upwards of *Two Hundred and Fifty* Persons Settled, who in *Spring*, 1736, built a large Fort for their own Protection; and the poor Remains of these are now no more than *Fifty three* (above *two Thirds* of which are Women and Children) besides *eleven* of the Trustees Servants inlisted as Soldiers, and stationed there under the Command of an Officer, in order to keep the others from going away, who are nevertheless making their Escape daily.

The Southermost Settlement in *Georgia*, is *FORT St. ANDREWS*, *Fifty* Miles South from *Frederica*, on the South-West side of *Cumberland Island*, upon a high Neck of Land which commands the River both Ways; the Walls are of Wood, fill'd up with Earth, round which are a Ditch and Pallisade; *two* Companies of General *Oglethorpe's* Regiment were formerly stationed there, but are now mostly drawn to *Frederica*.

Opposite to *Frederica*, on the Main, were settled Messrs. *Carr* and *Carteret*, with above *Twenty* Servants, where they cleared a considerable Tract of Land; but that Plantation is now quitted, and their Servants either dead or dispersed. We have lately heard from *Frederica*, that the General having station'd 10 or 12 Men upon *this* Place, they were attacked by *Spaniards* or *Spanish Indians*, 4 were killed, 4 carried off and 2 left wounded.

NEW EBENEZER, to which the *Saltzburghers* removed from their former Habitation at *Old Ebenezer*, consists of about *One Hundred* Persons, under the Government of Mr. *Boltzius*, their Pastor; they live and labour in a kind of Community, and never commix or associate with Strangers; they have been *hitherto* liberally supported both from *Germany* and *England*, and their Rights and Privileges have been much more extensive than any others in the Colony: This Town lies *six* Miles Eastward from

the *old*, on a high Bluff upon the side of *Savanna River*, and *forty* Miles from *Savannah*. Near to this Place on a Creek of the same River, was built a Saw-Mill, which cost of the Publick Money above 1500*l*. *Sterl*. but, like most other publick Works, is now intirely ruinous.

About *Ten* Miles East of *Ebenezer*, on a Creek *three* Miles from the River, was the Village of *ABERCORN*, in the Year, 1733 there were *ten* Families settled there, and several afterwards: In the Year 1737, Mr. *John Brodie* with *twelve* Servants settled there: But all those are gone, and it is now a Heap of Ruins.

Four Miles below *Abercorn*, upon the River side is *Joseph's Town*, which was the Settlement of some *Scots* Gentlemen with *thirty* Servants; but they have now left it, most of their Servants having died there.

A Mile below, on the River side, is the Settlement where Sir *Francis Bathurst*, with *twelve* in Family and Servants, was placed, now in Ruins, without an Inhabitant.

A Quarter of a Mile below was the Settlement of *Walter Augustine*, with *six* in Family: Within this Settlement was another Mill erected, at the Charge of above 800*l*. *Sterling*, all now in Ruins, without an Inhabitant.

A Mile below is *Landiloe*, the Settlement of Mr. *Robert Williams*, with *forty* Servants, who made large Improvements there, and continued for the space of *four* Years planting each Season with great Industry in various shapes, still expecting (with the other Settlers) an Alteration in the Constitution; but at last having sunk a great deal of Money, he was obliged to leave it, with the Loss of above *Two Thousand Pounds Sterling;* and it is now uninhabited, and very much decayed. Next below that is the *Five hundred* Acre Tract belonging to Dr. *Patrick Tailfer;* which was settled, but found impracticable to proceed upon, by Reason of the Hardships and Restrictions in the Colony. Next to that is Mr. *Jacob Mathews's* Plantation (formerly Mr. *Musgrove's*) called the Cow-pen, who lived there some Time with *ten Servants;* but has now left it, and keeps only *two* or *three* to look after his *Cattle*. Adjoining to this was Mr. *Cooksey's* Settlement, with *five* in Family; now intirely abandoned. Next to this was Capt. *Watson's* Plantation, with a good House, now in Ruins. All these lie upon the side of the River. And upon the East and Southward, were the Settlements of *Young*, *Emery*, *Polhil* and *Warwick;* all forsaken. Next upon the River side is the *Indian Land* before mentioned, separated from the foregoing Settlements by a Creek, and running all along to the Town: A little below this Creek is a Place called *Irene*, where Mr. *John*

Wesly built a pretty good House for an *Indian School;* but he soon wearied of *that* Undertaking, and left *it*. A little below this is the *Indian Town* called *New-Yamacra*, were the Remainder of *Tomo Chachi's* Indians reside.

Five Miles South-West of *Savannah*, on a small Rise, stands the Village of *Highgate: Twelve* Families were settled here in 1733, mostly *French*, now reduced to *Two*. A Mile Eastward of this is *Hampstead*, where several *German* Families were settled in 1733, and some others since, now reduced to none.

Five Miles South-East of *Savannah*, is *THUNDERBOLT*, where there was a good Timber Fort, and *three* Families with *twenty* Servants were settled; but it is now all in Ruins and abandoned.

Four Miles South of this is the Island of *Skiddoway*, on the North-East Point whereof *Ten* Families were settled in 1733; now reduced to none.

A Creek divides *Skiddoway* from *TYBEE* Island, on the South-East Part of which, fronting the Inlet, the Light-House is built: *Twelve* Families were settled here in 1734, who have now forsaken it.

Twelve Miles Southward by Land from *Savannah*, is Mr. *Houston's* Plantation, kept with *one Servant*. And,

About *Thirty* Miles from that, up the River *Ogeeche*, was the Settlements of Messrs. *Stirlings*, *&c.* with *Twenty-five Servants:* This Place, when they went there, was the Southermost Settlement in the Colony, and very *remote; so that they were obliged to build, at their own Expence and at a considerable Charge, a strong Wooden Fort for their Defence. And the said Messrs. *Stirlings* having resided there about *three* Years with the Servants, they were oblig'd to leave it after having exhausted their Fortunes to no Purpose in the Experiment.

Twenty Miles above this, on a high Bluff on the same River, stands *Fort Argyle:* † 'Tis a small square Wooden Fort, Musquet-Proof: Ten Families were settled here and about it; now all gone; and the Fort itself garrison'd by *one* Officer, *one* Dutch Servant, and *one* Woman, who were lately surprized in the Officer's Absence, by *two* Prisoners that broke out of the *Logghouse* in *Savannah*, and both murdered.

Near the Mouth of *Vernon* River, upon a kind of an Island

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* This was the only Spot allow'd them to settle upon, any other Place being refused.

† This is the Place where a Body of Horse called the *Southern Rangers*, under the Command of Capt. *James Macpherson*, were station'd for several Years. They were paid by the Government of *Carolina;* but have been discharged for some Time by past.

(which is called *Hope Isle*) are the Settlements of *Messrs. John Fallowfield, Henry Parker* and *Noble Jones:* They have made some Improvements there, but chiefly *Mr. Fallowfield*, who has a pretty little convenient House and Garden, with a considerable stock of Hoggs, and some Cattle, *&c.* and where he generally resides with his Family. Near adjoining to this, upon a Piece of Land which commands the *Narrows, is a Timber Building called *Jones's* Fort; which serves for *two* Uses, namely, to support *Mr. Noble Jones*, who is Commander of it, and to prevent the poor People of *Frederica* from getting to any other Place, where they might be able to support themselves.

About *three* Miles South-East of *Savannah*, upon *Augustine Creek*, lies *Oxstead*, the Settlement of *Mr. Thomas Causton*, improven by many Hands and at a great Charge, where he now resides with a few Servants. Betwixt *Oxstead* and the Town of *Savannah* lie: 1*st*, *Hermitage*, the Settlement of *Mr. Hugh Anderson*, who had *seventeen* in Family and Servants; but he was obliged both to leave that and retire from the Colony about *two* Years ago, upon Account of the general Hardships. 2*dly*, The Settlements of *Mr. Thomas Christie*, and *six* others belonging to the Township of *Savannah:* all now forsaken. 3*d*, The Settlements of the *Germans* of *Count Zinzendorff* who were *twenty* Families; which are likewise now intirely abandon'd, they having all gone to other Colonies.

Upon the West side of *Savannah*, lie the Township Lots of the Jews, now deserted, (they having all gone to other Colonies, except *three* or *four*) as are all others on that Quarter, excepting *one* or *two*.

About *three* Miles from *Savannah*, on the South, the Settlement of *Mr. William Williamson* is in the same Condition: And also,

The *Settlement* belonging to the Trustees adjoining to *Mr. Williamson's;* which was committed by them to the Care of *Mr. William Bradley*, their Steward, to be cultivated and improved by him at their Charge, as an Example to others, and to satisfy themselves what Improvements in Land were practicable by *white Servants:* The Event might have open'd the Eyes of any that would see: Upwards of *twenty*, sometimes *thirty* Servants were employ'd; above *Two Thousand Pounds Sterling* expended in the Experiment; and never so much of any kind of Grain raised from it, as would have maintain'd the Numbers employed about it *six* Months: It now lies on a Parr with the most ruinous Plan-

* This is a narrow Passage, thro' which Boats are obliged to pass and repass in going to and from the Southward.

tation in *Georgia*. Part of their *Dutch Servants* have been employed last Year by *Mr. Thomas Jones*, upon a new Plantation about a Mile to the Southward of *Savannah;* They were *Twenty-five* in Number, and maintain'd at the Expence of 8*d. sterling* each *per Diem*; and we have lately been credibly informed, the Whole Produce did not exceed *One Hundred* Bushels of Corn.

The *Orphan-House* is situated about *fourteen* Miles South East of *Savannah:* This famous Work was begun in *March*, 1740; and during the space of *six Months*, there were about *One Hundred* People, Men, Women and Children, maintain'd and employ'd about it; and according to their own Calculation, they have expended near *Four Thousand Pounds Sterling:* But ever since *Mr. Whitefield* left *Georgia* the latter End of *August* in the same Year, it has decayed a-pace; for, besides those he then carried to the Northward with him, a great many have since left them; and their Money growing short, they were soon obliged to discharge most of the Workmen; besides of late, many Divisions have arisen amongst them: In short, the Design seems to be drawing near a Period, altho' at this Time the House itself is scarcely half finished: It is built upon a low Pine Barren, surrounded on one Side with a large Tract of *salt Marsh*, extending to *Vernon River*, to which they have a Passage by *Water* when the Tides are up for small *Craft;* on the other Side it is surrounded with *Woods;* They have cleared about *ten* Acres of Ground, and have built several Houses and Huts. The Frame of the Orphan-House is up, the Roof shingled, and the Sides weather boarded: It is *sixty Feet* in Length, *forty* Feet wide: It has two Stories besides Cellars and Garrets; the Cellars are built of Brick, which likewise serves for a Foundation to the whole Building: It would certainly be a fine Piece of Work, if finished; but if it were finished, where is the Fund for its support? and what Service can an Orphan-House be in a Desert and a forsaken Colony.

About *three* or *four* Miles from the Orphan-House, on the side of *Vernon* River, *William Stephens*, Esq; (formerly mentioned) has a Plantation with *five* or *six* Servants, who have cleared about *seven* or *eight* Acres: However if he reaps no Benefit from them, he is at as little Charge to maintain them.*

As it would be too tedious to mention particularly the Township or *five* and *forty-five* Acre Lots, being in all about *One Hundred* that were settled; we need only therefore in general say that

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* The Trustees allow him so many Servants, and their Maintenance.

there are few or none of them but what are in the same Condition with those before specified, *viz.* ruinous and desolate.

The last Place we shall mention is *AUGUSTA*, distant from *Savannah* Two Hundred Miles up the River, on the same Side: It was founded in 1737, at a considerable Charge, under the Direction of one Mr. *Roger Lacy*, being at that Time Agent to the *Cherokee* Nation: It is principally, if not altogether, inhabited by *Indian* Traders and Store-keepers, the Number of whom may now be about *thirty* or upwards; and a considerable Quantity of Corn has been raised there: To account for this singular Circumstance we shall only assign *two* Reasons; the first is the goodness of the Land, which at so great a Distance from the Sea is richer than in the maritime Parts; the second and chief one is, that the Settlers there are indulged in and conniv'd at the Use of Negroes, by whom they execute all the laborious Parts of Culture; and the Fact is undoubted and certain, that upwards of *Eighty* Negroes are now in the Settlements belonging to that Place: We do not observe this as if it gives us any Uneasiness, that our Fellow-Planters are indulged in what is so necessary for their Well-being; but we may be allowed to regret, that we and so many *British Subjects*, who stood much more in need of them, should have been ruined for Want of such Assistances.

HAVING now taken a Survey of the Colony of *Georgia*, we shall conclude this Treatise by taking Notice of *two* or *three* of the most remarkable Transactions in it since *October* last.

ON the *Tenth* Day of *November* a Court was called at *Savannah*, where Col. *Stephens* read a Paragraph of a Letter, which he said was from the Trustees, desiring the Inhabitants to set forth their Miseries, Hardships and Difficulties in Writing, in order to have the Seal of the Colony annexed thereto, and so transmitted to the Trustees: Whereupon Mr. *Stephens* gave the Recorder a Paper to read, in which the Colony was represented in a most flourishing Condition, (in the Town of *Augusta* alone, there were represented to be white People, and Pack-horses belonging thereto, who were employed in the Indian Trade) enumerating the many useful, fine and curious Productions of it, such as Hedges with Pomegranates growing upon them, Wine, Silk, Oil, Wheat, *&c.* with many other *Hyperboles:* This Paper Mr. *Stephens* said he had been at great Care and Pains about, and which he took to be a just Answer to the Trustees Letter, with the true State of the Colony: But the poor People seeing the Absurdity and Falseness of it, soon discover'd their Dislike thereof by their leaving the Court-house; and only *eighteen* Persons signed the same, every one of whom were supported in one Shape or other by the Publick; Mr.

Fallowfield, then on the Bench, used what Arguments he could to persuade him, That it was reasonable every Person should represent his own Case to the Trustees, and he apprehended the Design of the Trustees was such; but *Stephens* in a Passion said, *Except they would sign this, they should have the Publick Seal to no other Paper;* so it was to no Purpose what either he or the Recorder Mr. *John Py* could urge, who very soon left the Court, declaring their Dislike and Abhorrence of such Proceedings; but immediately they, with the Rest of the Inhabitants, to the Number of above *sixty*, drew up a Remonstrance to the Trustees, in which they fully set forth the *true* State of the Colony, with their own miserable Condition in it: This Paper, and soon after a Petition to the King and Council, *&c.* were lately transmitted to the Authors hereof, who immediately forwarded them for *London;* but as the Issue thereof is now depending, we don't think it proper to expose them to the Publick.

On the 2*d* of *April* last a Fire broke out by Accident in a Smith's Forge in *Savannah*, which consumed almost one whole Square; and in the highest Rage of the devouring Flames, Mr. *Thomas Jones* stood an idle Spectator with his Hands in his Bosom, and with the utmost Unconcernedness, insomuch, that when he was applied to by several of the miserable People for a small Quantity of Gun-Powder to blow up an adjoining House, in order to prevent the Fire from spreading, his Answer was, *I can do Nothing in it, I have no Orders concerning such Matters.*

We have lately been informed from *Frederica*, that the General having stationed *twelve* Men upon the Place which was the Settlement of Messrs. *Ker* and *Carteret* before mentioned, they were attacked by *Spaniards* or *Spanish* Indians, and *four* were killed, *four* carried off, and *two* wounded.

A good many of the People have come away from *Frederica* lately, and in order to get off were obliged to make use of Stratagems, such as going a Hunting upon the Islands, *&c.* We are informed, that some Differences have happened betwixt the General and some of the Magistrates there, and that in the Place of one of them he has appointed one of his waiting Boys. Several of the poor Remainder of the *Darien* People have likewise escaped, notwithstanding the Body of Forces stationed there to prevent them.

HAVING thus brought this Historical NARRATIVE within the Compass proposed, and endeavoured to dispose the Materials in as distinct a Method and Series as the necessary Conciseness would allow: We readily admit that the Design is far from being

compleat. To have acquainted the World with all the Hardships and Oppressions which have been exercised in the Colony of *Georgia*, must have required both a larger Volume than we were capable of publishing, and more Time than we could bestow: We therefore satisfy ourselves, that we have, with Care and Sincerity, executed so much of the Design, as may pave the Way to any others who can descend more minutely to Particulars; and those who are best acquainted with the Affairs of that Colony, will be most capable of judging how tenderly we have touch'd both Persons and Things.

IT only remains, that we in a few Paragraphs endeavour to exhibit to the View of the Reader, the REAL Causes of the Ruin and Desolation of the Colony; and those briefly are the following.

1. *The Representing the Climate, Soil,* &c. *of* Georgia *in false and too flattering Colours; at least, the not contradicting those Accounts when publickly printed and dispers'd, and satisfying the World in a true and genuine Description thereof.*

2. *The Restricting the Tenure of Lands from a Fee simple to Tail-Male, cutting off Daughters and all other Relations.*

3. *The Restraining the Proprietor from selling, disposing of, or leasing any Possession.*

4. *The Restricting too much the Extent of Possessions; it being impossible that* fifty *Acres of good Land, much less Pine Barren, could maintain a white Family.*

5. *The Laying the Planter under a Variety of Restraints in clearing, fencing, planting,* &c. *which was impossible to be complied with.*

6. *The Exacting a much higher Quit-Rent than the richest Grounds in* North-America *can bear.*

7. *But chiefly the Denying the Use of Negroes, and persisting in such Denial after, by repeated Applications, we had humbly remonstrated the Impossibility of making Improvements to any Advantage with white Servants.*

8. *The Denying us the Privilege of being judged by the Laws of our Mother Country; and subjecting the Lives and Fortunes of all People in the Colony, to one Person or Set of Men, who assumed the Privilege, under the Name of a* Court of Chancery, *of acting according to their own Will and Fancy.*

9. *General* Oglethorpe's *taking upon him to nominate Magistrates, appoint Justices of the Peace, and to do many other such Things, without ever exhibiting to the People any legal Commission or Authority for so doing.*

10. *The Neglecting the proper Means for Encouraging the Silk and Wine-Manufactures; and disposing of the liberal Sums*

contributed by the Publick, and by private Persons, in such Ways and Channels as have been of little or no Service to the Colony.

11. *The Misapplying or Keeping up Sums of Money which have been appointed for particular Uses, such as Building a Church,* &c. *several* Hundreds of Pounds Sterling *(as we are inform'd) having been lodged in Mr.* Oglethorpe's *Hands for some Years by past, for that Purpose, and not one Stone of it yet laid.*

12. *The Assigning certain fix'd Tracts of Land to those who came to settle in the Colony, without any regard to the Quality of the Ground, Occupation, Judgment, Ability or Inclination of the Settler,* &c. &c. &c.

By these and many other such Hardships, the poor Inhabitants of *Georgia* are scatter'd over the Face of the Earth; her Plantations a Wild; her Towns a Desert; her Villages in Rubbish; her Improvements a By-Word, and her Liberties a Jest: An Object of Pity to Friends, and of Insult, Contempt and Ridicule to Enemies.

THE END.

AN

ACCOUNT,

Shewing the PROGRESS of the

Colony of GEORGIA

IN

AMERICA,

FROM IT'S

First Establishment.

Published per Order of the Honorable the Trustees.

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THE PREFACE.

IN the Year 1741, *there was Printed and Published by* P. T. *in* Charles-Town *in* South-Carolina, *for the Authors* P. T——r, *M. D.* H. A——n, *M. A.* D. D——s, *and Others, Land-holders in* Georgia, *(at that Time in* Charles-Town) *a Pamphlet entituled,* A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of *Georgia* in *America*, &c. *Dedicated to his Excellency,* James Oglethorpe, *Esq; General and Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces in* South-Carolina *and* Georgia, *&c. The Dedication seems a very just Introduction to such a Narrative, and both the one and the other, the real Offspring of such factious and turbulent Authors; being a mean low-witted Sneer, a malicious ill-natured Invective, against that honorable Gentleman, wherein the Authors, without any regard to Good Manners or Common Civility, treat his Excellency (as it were to his Face) with such Rudeness as ill becomes any Person to use even to an Inferior: However, I cannot say but a very fit Prelude to such an inconsistent, spiteful, false Narrative, as is subjoined to the Dedication; a Narrative founded in Lies and Misrepresentations, projected and published by a few Persons of no Estate, and as little Character, Persons sour'd in their Tempers, because not humour'd in their endeavours of subverting, or at least altering, the Constitution of a new settled Colony, even in it's Infancy, and before any great Experiment was made of Advancing and improving it; Persons, who were under a necessity of Banishing themselves from a Colony, where, for their seditious and rebellious Practices, and turbulent restless Spirits, they were every day in danger of being call'd to Account, as stirrers up of Discontent, and as Incendiaries against the Peace of the Government; Persons who had shared deeply in his Excellency's Favours, and therefore guilty of the most monstrous Sin in nature,* viz. *Ingratitude; for* Si ingratum dixeris, Omnia. *In short, they are Persons to whom do most justly belong the Character given by the Right Honourable Sir* William Young, *in a Debate concerning the Printer of a seditious Paper, "that "they are Men whose daily Employment has been, for some "time, to misrepresent the Publick Measures, to disperse Scan- "dal, and excite Rebellion; who have industriously propa- "gated every Murmur of Discontent, and preserved every "Whisper of Malevolence from perishing in the Birth."*— Gent. Mag. Supplement *to* 1741, *p.* 682. B.

These are the mighty Authors and Publishers of the Scurrilious Narrative! the Design of which seems to be pointed

chiefly towards obstructing the Peopling, and further Settling, the Colony of Georgia, *and sullying the Character and Administration of a Gentleman, who may (without Flattery or Falshood) be justly termed the* Romulus, *Father, and Founder of* Georgia; *a Gentleman who, without any Views but that of enlarging his Majesty's Dominions, propagating the Protestant Religion, promoting the Trade of his Country, and providing for the Wants and Necessities of indigent Christians, has voluntarily banished himself from the Pleasures of a Court and exposed himself to the repeated Dangers of the vast* Atlantic *Ocean, in several perillous and tedious Voyages; instead of allowing himself the Satisfaction, which a plentiful Fortune, powerful Friends, and great Merit, entitle him to in* England, *he has inured himself to the greatest Hardships, that any the meanest Inhabitant of this new Colony could be exposed to; his Diet has been mouldy Bread, or boiled Rice instead of Bread, Salt Beef, Pork, &c. his Drink has been Water, his Bed the damp Earth, without any other Covering than the Canopy of Heaven to shelter him; and all this to set an Example to this new Colony, how they might bear with such Hardships in their new Settlements.*

His Conduct in War, falls nothing short of his Prudence in private Life, and Policy in Publick Stations, however the same might have been misrepresented to the World, with respect to the Miscarriage before St. Augustine, *the true Causes of which are justly to be laid at the Door of Two Sorts of Men, concerned in that Expedition; first those under a Command different from the General, upon whose Assistance the Success of that Expedition chiefly depended, but who entirely left him when their Asssitance was most wanted. The Second Sort were those Out-Guards, who were to give the Alarm to the Main-Guard, when the* Spaniards *advanced; but, who, instead of firing their Pieces, and giving the Alarm, flung down their Arms and ran away; by which Means, the Slaughter of the Men at* Musa *happened: And yet, Ill-Nature will lay the Blame of all to his Excellency, when indeed the Miscarriage was occasioned by either Neglect of, or Disobedience to, the Military Orders that his Excellency had given; or by not being supported by those under a different Command, on whom he chiefly depended for Success of that Attack; but (to his Excellency's great Surprize) instead of sending their Boats and Men ashore, according to a Result of a Council of War, held on board one of his Majesty's Ships, to assist in order to destroy the Six Gallies, wherein the* Spaniards *greatest Safe-guard lay, and which continually fired from under the Walls over the River, on the Land Forces, hoisted their Sails and went away, without giving the least Notice of their Departure, by which Means the Gar-*

rison was relieved with Provisions through the Metanges, *a small Inlet about Four Leagues to the Southward of the Bar, which might have been prevented, had those of a different Command done their Duty. Thus I leave any impartial Man, to judge the Consequence of their Departure at so critical a Juncture, and the fatal Event it produced to his Majesty's Land Forces. However, his Excellency's Conduct has been approved of at Home, and will soon appear in such a Light, that his Enemies will be ashamed of their impudent Lies, and perhaps pay for their own Folly; and how far the Ill-Nature, and impotent Malice, of the Authors of the Narrative, have carried them beyond the Bounds of Truth or good Manners, will appear in the following Sheets, which give a true and authentic Account of the Progress of that Colony, from it's first Establishment, to the Year* 1741, *which being published by the Order of the Honourable the Trustees, and printed in* London, Anno 1741, *is now Re-printed here, with no other View, than to obviate the Prejudices which may be raised in the Minds of People, by that Scandalous Narrative, and so may be a Means of delivering that New Settlement, from the ill Effect of such Misrepresentations as are handed about by that Libel, to deter his Majesty's Subjects from settling in that Frontier Colony, so necessary for advancing and protecting the Trade of this, and our Mother Country, on the Southermost Part of* North America, *and extending our Colonies both on the Gulf of* Florida, *and the Bay of* Mexico.

Magna est Veritas, & prevalebit.

AN
ACCOUNT,
Shewing the Progress of the
Colony of GEORGIA
IN
AMERICA,
From it's First *Establishment.*

HIS Majesty King GEORGE the Second, by his Letters Patent bearing date the *9th* Day of *June*, One thousand seven hundred and thirty two, reciting amongst many other things, that many of his poor Subjects were through Misfortunes and want of Employment reduced to great Necessities, and would be glad to be Settled in any of his Majesty's Provinces of *America*, where by Cultivating the Lands Waste and Desolate, they might not only gain a comfortable Subsistence, but also, strengthen his Majesty's Colonies, and increase the Trade, Navigation and Wealth of his Majesty's Realms, and that the Provinces in North *America* had been frequently Ravaged by Indian Enemies, more especially that of *South Carolina*, whose Southern Frontier continued unsettled and lay open to the Neighbouring Savages, and that to relieve the Wants of the said Poor People, and to protect his Majesty's Subjects in *South Carolina*, a Regular Colony of the said Poor People should be Settled and Established in the Southern Frontiers of *Carolina* did for the Considerations aforesaid, Constitute a Corporation by the Name of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of *Georgia* in *America*, with Capacity to purchase and take Lands, to sue, and to be sued, to have a Common Seal, and to Chuse Members of the said Corporation on the third *Thursday* in *March* Yearly, with restraining Clauses, that no Member of the said Corporation should have any Salary, Fee, Perquisite, Benefit or Profit whatsoever for Acting therein, or have any Office, Place, or Employment of Profit under the said Corporation, with a Direction for the said Corporation every Year to lay an Account in Writing before the Lord Chancellor, Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, Master of the Rolls, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or any Two of them, of all Moneys or Effects by them Received or Expended for Carrying on the good Purposes aforesaid, with a Power to make By-Laws, Constitutions, Orders and Ordinances; And Granted amongst

other things to the said Corporation and their Successors, under the Reservations therein mentioned, seven undivided Parts (the whole into eight equal parts to be divided) of all those Lands, Countries and Territories, situate, lying and being in that part of *South Carolina* in *America*, which lies from the most Northern Stream of a River there commonly called the *Savannah*, all along the Sea Coast to the Southward, unto the most Southern Stream of a certain other great Water or River, called the *Alatamaha*, and Westward from the Heads of the said Rivers respectively in direct Lines to the South Seas, To have and to hold the same, to them the said Corporation and their Successors for Ever, for the better support of the said Colony under the Yearly Rent of *Four Shillings* Proclamation Money of *South Carolina*. for every Hundred Acres of the said Lands for ever, which the said Corporation should Grant, Demise, Plant or Settle, but not to Commence until Ten Years after such Grant, Demise, Planting or Settling; And Erected and Created the said Lands, Countries, and Territories into one independent and separate Province by the Name of *GEORGIA*, and made the Inhabitants who should reside therein, free and not subject to any Laws, Orders, Statutes, or Constitutions of *South Carolina*, except the Commander-in-Chief of the Militia, and Authorized the said Corporation for the Term of twenty-one Years from the Date of the said Letters Patent to form and prepare Laws, Statutes and Ordinances for the Government of the said Colony, not repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of *England*, to be presented under their Common Seal, to his Majesty in Council, for his Approbation or Disallowance, and that the said Laws so Approved of should be in full Force and Virtue within the said Province: And impowered the Common Council for the Time being of the said Corporation, or the major Part of them, to dispose of, expend and apply, all the Moneys and Effects belonging to the said Corporation, and to make Contracts for Carrying and Effecting the good Purposes therein intended, and that they should, from Time to Time, appoint a Treasurer, Secretary, and such other Officers, Ministers, and Servants of the said Corporation as they should see proper, for the good Management of their Affairs, and at their Pleasure to remove them and appoint Others in their stead, and that they should appoint reasonable Salaries, Perquisites and other Rewards for their Labour or Services, and that such Officers should be Sworn before they Act, for the faithful and due Execution of their respective Offices and Places; and declared, that the Treasurer and Secretary for the Time being should be incapable of being Members of the said Corporation; and granted to the said Corporation that it should be lawful for them, their Officers or Agents, to Transport and Convey into the said Province, such of his Majesty's Subjects and Foreigners as were willing to go and

Inhabit and Reside there; and declared all Persons Born within the said Province, and their Children and Posterity, to be Free Denizens as if they had been Born within any of his Majesty's Dominions: And impowered the said Common Council in the Name of the Corporation and under their Common Seal, to distribute, convey, assign, and set over such particular Portions of the said Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, unto such of his Majesty's Subjects and others willing to Live in the said Colony, upon such Terms, and for such Estates, and upon such Rents, Reservations and Conditions, as the same might lawfully be granted, and as to the said Common Council, or the major Part of them, should seem fit and proper, Provided that no Grant should be made of any part of the said Lands, unto, or in trust for, or for the Benefit of any Member of the said Corporation, and that no greater Quantity of the said Lands be granted either intirely or in parcels, to or to the use of, or in trust for, any one Person, than five hundred Acres; and declared that all Grants made contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof should be absolutely Null and Void: And granted that the said Corporation for the Term of Twenty One Years from the Date of the said Letters Patent should have Power to Erect and Constitute Judicatures and Courts of Record, or other Courts, to be held in his Majesty's Name, for the hearing and determining of all manner of Crimes, Offences, Pleas, Processes, Plaints, Actions, Matters, Causes and Things whatsoever, arising or happening within the said Province, or between Persons Inhabiting or Residing there, and for awarding and making out Executions thereupon; and directed the said Corporation to Register or cause to be Registred, all Leases, Grants, Plantings, Conveyances, Settlements and Improvements whatsoever, as should at any time be made of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments within the said Province, and Yearly transmit Authentick Accounts thereof unto the Auditor of the Plantations, or his Deputy, and to the Surveyor of *South Carolina*, to inspect and survey the same, to Ascertain the Quit-Rents that should become due according to the Reservation before mentioned; but not to have, or take any Gratuity, Fee or Reward for such Survey or Inspection, on Forfeiture of their Office; with a Proviso, That all Leases, Grants and Conveyances to be made, of any Lands within the said Province, or a Memorial Containing the Substance or Effect thereof, should be Registred with the Auditor of the Plantations within One Year from the Date thereof, otherwise that the same should be void: And directed, that all Rents, Issues or Profits which should come to the said Corporation, issuing or arising out of, or from the said Province, should be laid out and applied in such manner as would most improve and enlarge the said Colony, and best Answer the good Purposes

therein mentioned, and for defraying all other Charges about the same; and directed the said Corporation from time to time to give in to one of the Secretaries of State, and to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, Accounts of the Progress of the said Colony; And directed that the said Common Council should from time to time for the said Term of twenty one Years from the Date of the said Letters Patent, have Power to appoint all such Governours, Judges, Magistrates, Ministers, and Officers, Civil and Military, both by Sea and Land, within the said District, as they should think fit and needful for the Government of the said Colony (except such Officers as should be appointed for Managing, Collecting and Receiving such of his Majesty's Revenues, as should arise within the said Province) with a Proviso, that every Governour so Appointed, should be Approved by his Majesty, and Qualify himself as other Governours in *America* are by Law required to do, and give Security for Observing the Acts of Parliament relating to Trade and Navigation, and Obeying all Instructions from his Majesty, or any Acting under his Authority, pursuant to the said Acts: And Granted, that the said Corporation for the said Term of twenty one Years, from the Date of the said Letters Patent, should have Power, by any Commander or other Officer for that Purpose appointed to Train, Instruct, Exercise, and Govern, a Militia for the special Defence and Safety of the said Colony, to Assemble in Martial Array, and put in Warlike Posture, the Inhabitants of the said Colony, and in Time of actual War, Invasion or Rebellion, to use and exercise the Law Martial, and also to erect Forts and Fortify any Place or Places within the said Colony, and the same to furnish with all necessary Ammunition, Provision and Stores of War for Offence and Defence, and from time to time to commit the Custody and Government of them to such Person or Persons as to them should seem meet, Declaring that the Governour or Commander in Chief of *South Carolina* should have the Chief Command of the Militia of *Georgia*, and that they should observe his Orders; And Granted that the said Corporation should have Power to Import or Export their Goods, at or from any Port or Ports that should be appointed by his Majesty within the said Province for that purpose, without being obliged to touch at any other Port in *Carolina:* And Declared, that after the End of the said twenty one Years, such Form of Government, and method of making Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances for the Government of the said Province, and it's Inhabitants, should be Observed and Established within the same, as his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors should Ordain and Appoint, and should be agreable to Law; and that after the End of the said twenty one Years, the Governour, and all Officers Civil and Military, within the said Province,

should be Appointed by his Majesty, his heirs and Successors. In Pursuance of his Majesty's Charter, and in order to fulfil the good Intents and Purposes therein expressed, it was thought necessary for the Trustees to send over such poor People and foreign Protestants as were willing to Live in *Georgia*, not only to cultivate the Lands, but at the same Time to strengthen his Majesty's Colonies. For which purpose they considered each Inhabitant both as a Planter and a Soldier; and they were therefore to be Provided with Arms for their Defence, as well as Tools for their Cultivation, and to be Taught the Exercise of both, and Towns were to be laid out for their Settlements, and Lands allotted to each of them for their Maintenance as near to those Towns as conveniently could be, that they might never have Occasion to be too far distant from their Towns, which were to be regarded as their Garrisons.

And as the Military Strength of the Province was particulaly to be taken care of, it seemed necessary to Establish such Tenures of Lands as might most effectually preserve the Number of Planters, or Soldiers, equal to the Number of Lots of Lands, and therefore each Lot of Land was to be considered as a Military Fief, and to contain so much in Quantity as would Support such Planter and his Family; and Fifty Acres were judged sufficient and not too much for that Purpose, and Provision was made to prevent an Accumulation of several Lots into one Hand, lest the Garrison should be lessened, and likewise to prevent a Division of those Lots into smaller Parcels, lest that which was no more than Sufficient for one Planter, when entire, should if divided amongst several, be too scanty for their Subsistence.

And in the Infancy of the Colony, the Lands were Granted in Tail Male, preferable to any other Tenure, as the most likely to answer these Purposes; for if the Grants were to be made in Tail General, it was thought that the Strength of each Township would soon be diminished, in as much as every Female Heir in Tail, who was unmarried, would have been intitled to one Lot, and consequently have taken from the Garrison the Portion of one Soldier; and by Intermarriages several Lots might have been united into one; and if such Tenant in Tail General had had several Daughters, his Lot must have been Divided equally amongst them all as Co-partners.

Nor were these the only inconveniencies which were thought likely to arise from Estates in Tail General: For Women being equally incapable to Act as Soldiers or serve on Juries, these Duties, and many others, such as Watchings and Wardings, *&c.* would return so much oftener to each Man, in proportion as the Number of the Men in the Township was lessened, and by that means become very burthensome to the Remaining Male Lot

holders, and in case of any Attack from the *Indians, French* or *Spaniards,* the Township would be less able to make a Defence.

And as it was not thought proper to Grant Estates in Tail General, it appeared to be more inconvenient to Grant them in Fee Simple; which Estate would have been attended with all the Objections before mentioned incident to Estates in Tail General, and to several other besides; for the Right of Alienation being inseparable from an Estate in Fee, the Grantee might have Sold, Mortgaged, or Aliened his Lands to whomever he thought fit, which was a Power not to be intrusted with the People sent over, for the following Reasons:

1. From Considering their Condition.
2. From Considering the Purposes they were sent for.
3. From Considering the Persons to whom Lands might be Alienated. And,
4. From Considering that it might Occasion a Monopoly of Land contrary to the Intent of the Charter.

As to the First, The Persons sent over were poor indigent People, who had for the most part so indiscreetly managed what they had been Masters of here, that it did not seem safe to trust so absolute a Property in their Hands, at least in the Infancy of the Colony, and before they had by a careful and industrious Behaviour given some Reason to believe they would prove better Managers for the future.

As to the Second, They were sent over to inhabit, cultivate, and secure, by a personal Residence, the Lands Granted to them within the Province, and they voluntarily engaged so to do; And in expectation that they would perform those Engagements, they were Maintained at the Expence of the Publick during their Voyage, and their Passage was paid for them, and they were provided with Tools, Arms, Seeds, and other Necessaries, and Supported from the Publick Store, many of them at least for four Years together from their first Landing, in which respect the Publick may be said to have Purchased those People for a valuable Consideration, their Personal Residence, and all the Industry and Labour they could bestow in the Cultivation of this Province, and to have given them even Pay for the Hazard they might run in the Defence of it.

As to the Third, It was thought unsafe to Grant them such an Estate as might be the Means of introducing such sort of People as might Defeat what the Trustees had always at Heart, *viz.* The Preservation of the Protestant Religion in that Province, which was necessary to be taken Care of, both on a Political and Religious Account, the *French* lying to the West and the *Spaniards,* to the South of the Province of *Georgia.*

As to the Fourth, A Monopoly of several Lots into one Hand

would necessarily have been the consequence of a Free Liberty of Buying and Selling Lands within the Province, which would have been directly contrary to the Intent of the Charter, whereby the Grant of Lands to any one Person is limited not to exceed five hundred Acres.

A further inconvenience seemed likely to arise in every Case where the Tenant in Fee died without any Chidren, or without having disposed of his Lot by Will; for the Heir General who might have the Right to it might not happen to be found out for many Years after, especially if it was one of the Foreign Protestants, and all that Time the House would have run to decay, and the Land remain uncultivated and become a harbour for Vermin. to the great annoyance and damage of the Neighbouring Lots.

But though the before-mentioned restraints were intended for the good of the whole, yet whenever particular Cases required it they were taken off and dispensed with: And upon any application for leave to alienate Lands, Licences were always granted for that purpose; and when the succession of Females became less dangerous to the Province, by the growing strength and increase of the People, and by the Security provided for it by his Majesty's Forces there, the Trustees resolved to enlarge the Tenures of the Lands to Estates in Tail General.

The Tenures being thus settled, it was thought necessary to require the Inhabitants to cultivate their Lands within a limited Time, and in order to raise Raw silk, which was intended to be one of the Produces there, a certain proportion of white Mulberry-Trees were to be Planted, and in their respective Grants Ten Years were allowed for the Cultivation, and one hundred white Mulbery-Trees were to be planted on every ten Acres of Land when Cleared; with a Power for the Trustees to re-enter on the Parts that should remain uncultivated.

But as the People were not able to Cultivate their Lands within the Time required by their Grants, by reason of the Alarms from the *Spaniards*, the Droughts in that part of *America*, and other unforeseen Accidents, the Trustees resolved to release all forfeitures on that Account, and to require the Cultivation of no more than five Acres of the said fifty Acres within the Remainder of the said Term of Ten Years.

And as other Persons applied to the Trustees for Grants of Land, in order to go over and Settle there at their own Expence, particular Grants were made under the same Tenure and on the following Conditions *viz.* That they should within twelve Months from the Date of their Grants, go to and arrive in *Georgia*, with one Man Servant for every fifty Acres Granted them, and should with such Servants abide, settle, inhabit and continue there for three Years. That they shouldw ithin ten

Years Clear and Cultivate one fifth part of the Land granted them, and within the next ten Years Clear and Cultivate three fifth parts more of the said Lands, and plant one thousand white Mulberry-Trees upon every one hundred Acres thereof when Cleared. And that they should not at any time hire, keep, lodge, board or employ any Negroes within *Georgia* on any Account whatsoever without special Leave. Which Conditions were readily approved of, and Counterparts executed by them all; and to those who desired to name their Successor on failure of Issue Male, special Covenants were entered into by the Trustees for that Purpose, agreable to their own Propositions. And for an encouragement for their Men Servants to behave well, like Covenants were entered into, to Grant to every such Man Servant, when requested thereunto by any Writing under the Hand and Seal of the Master, Twenty Acres of Land under the same Tenure.

The Trustees were induced to prohibit the use of Negroes within *Georgia*, the Intention of his Majesty's Charter being to provide for poor People incapable of subsisting themselves at Home, and to settle a Frontier to *South Carolina*, which was much exposed by the small number of it's White Inhabitants. It was imposible that the Poor who should be sent from hence, and the Foreign Prosecuted Protestants, who must go in a manner Naked into the Colony, could be able to purchase or subsist them if they had them, and it would be a Charge too great for the Trustees to undertake; and they would be thereby disabled from sending White People. The first Cost of a Negro is about *Thirty Pounds*, and this *Thirty Pounds* would pay the Passage over, provide Tools and other Necessaries, and defray the Charge of subsistence of a White Man for a Year, in which time it might be hoped that the Planter's own Labour would grant him some subsistence, Consequently the Purchase Money of every Negro (abstracting the Expence of subsisting him as well as his Master) by being applied that way, would prevent the sending over a White Man who would be a Security to the Province, whereas the Negro would render that Security Precarious.

It was thought the White Man, by having a Negro Slave, would be less disposed to Labour himself; and that his whole Time must be employed in keeping the Negro to Work, and in watching against any Danger he or his Family might apprehend from the Slave, and that the Planter's Wife and Children would by the Death or even the Absence of the Planter, be at the Mercy of the Negro.

It was also apprehended, that the *Spaniards* at *St. Augustine* would be continually enticing away the Negroes, or encouraging them to Insurrections. That the first might easily be accomplish-

ed since a single Negro would run away thither without Companions, and would only have a River or two to swim over, and this Opinion has been confirmed and justified by the practices of the *Spaniards* even in Times of profound Peace amongst the Negroes in *South Carolina*, where though at a greater Distance from *St. Augustine*, some have fled in Periaguas and little Boats to the *Spaniards*, and been Protected, and others in large Bodies have been incited to Insurrections, to the great Terror and even endangering the Loss of that Province, which though it has been established above seventy Years, has scarce White People enough to secure her own Slaves.

It was also considered that the Produces designed to be raised in the Colony, would not require such Labour as to make Negroes necessary for Carrying them on; for the Province of *Carolina* produces chiefly Rice, which is a Work of Hardship proper for Negroes, whereas the Silk and other Produces which the Trustees proposed to have the People employed on in *Georgia*, were such as Women and Children might be of as much use in as Negroes.

It was likewise apprehended, that if the Persons who should go over to *Georgia* at their own Expence, should be permitted the use of Negroes, it would dispirit and ruin the Poor Planters who could not get them, and who by their Numbers were designed to be the strength of the Province; it would make them Clamorous to have Negroes given them, and on the Refusal would drive them from the Province, or at least make them negligent of their Plantations, where they would be unwilling, nay would certainly disdain, to work like Negroes; and would rather let themselves out to wealthy Planters as Overseers of their Negroes.

It was further thought, that upon the Admission of Negroes, the wealthy Planters would, as in all other Colonies, be more induced to absent themselves and live in other Places, leaving the Care of their Plantations and Negroes to Overseers.

It was likewise thought, that the Poor Planter sent on Charity, from his desire to have Negroes, as well as the Planter who should settle at his own Expence, would (if he had leave to alienate) Mortgage his Land to the Negro Merchant for them, or at least become a Debtor for the Purchase of such Negroes; and under these Weights and Discouragements would be induced to sell his Slaves again upon any necessity, and would leave the Province and his Lot to the Negro Merchant: In Consequence of which all the small Properties would be swallowed up, as they have been in other Places, by the more wealthy Planters.

In was likewise Considered, that the admitting of Negroes in *Georgia* would naturally facilitate the Desertion of the *Corolina* Negroes through the Province of *Georgia*, and Consequently this Colony instead of proving a Frontier and adding strength to the

Province of *South Carolina*, would be a Means of drawing off the Slaves of *Carolina*, and adding thereby a strength to *Augustine*.

From these several Considerations, as the Produces to be raised in the Colony did not make Negro Slaves necessary, as the Introduction of them so near to a Garrison of the *Spaniards* would weaken rather than strengthen the Barrier, and as they would introduce with them a greater Propensity to Idleness among the Poor Planters, and too great an Inequality among the People, it was thought proper to make the Prohibition of them a Fundamental of the Constitution.

When the Trustees had made these Dispositions, and were enabled by Benefactions from several private Persons, on the 3*d* of *October* 1732, It was resolved, to send over One hundred and fourteen Persons, Men, Women and Children, being such as were in decayed Circumstances, and thereby disabled from following any Business in *England*, and who if in Debt had leave from their Creditors to go, and such as were recommended by the Minister, Church-Wardens and Overseers of their respective Parishes. And *James Oglethorpe*, Esq. one of the Trustees, went with them at his own Expence, to settle them.

On the 24*th* of the same Month the People were all Examined whether any of them had any Objections to the Terms and Conditions proposed to them, which they all declared they had not, but that they were fully satisfied with them, and executed Articles under their Hands and Seals, Testifying their Consents thereto, which are now in the Publick Office belonging to the Trustees.

But four of them desiring that their Daughters might inherit as well as Sons, and that the Widows Dower might be considered, the Trustees immediately Resolved, that every Person who should desire the same, should have the Privilege of naming a Successor to the Lands granted to them, who in Case the Possessor should die without Issue Male, should hold the same to them and their Heirs Male for ever; and that the Widows should have their Thirds as in *England*, with which Resolutions the People being all acquainted, were very well satisfied.

The Trustees prepared Forms of Government, agreable to the Powers given them by their Charter; they Established under their Seal a Court of Judicature for Trying Causes as well Criminal as Civil in the Town of *Savannah*, (the Name which was given to the first Town to be raised) by the Name and Stile of *The Town Court*; They also appointed Magistrates there, *viz.* Three Bailiffs and a Recorder; and inferior Officers, *viz.* Two Constables and two Tything Men: They Chose for Magistrates such as appeared to them the most Prudent and Discreet, but amongst a Number of People who were all upon a Level at their

first setting out, it was impossible to make any Choice or Distinction which would not create some future uneasinesses among them.

On the 16*th* of *November*, 1732, when the One Hundred and Fourteen Persons, and with them the Reverend Mr. *Herbert* a Clergyman of the Church of *England*, and a Man from *Piedmont* (engaged by the Trustees to instruct the People in the Art of Winding Silk) Embarkt on board the Ship *Anne*, Capt. *Thomas;* several of the Trustees went to *Gravesend*, called over the People, and made a strict Enquiry into their Accommodations and Provisions, and left the People very well satisfied. Soon after Fifteen more Persons were sent, Eleven of whom were Sawyers, in order to Assist the People in Building their Houses.

At the time of the Embarkation five thousand Acres of Land were Granted to Three of the Colonists, in trust for them or the survivors of them, to make Grants from time to time to every Man of twenty one Years of Age or upwards, (who should arrive in *Georgia*, and desire the same) fifty Acres of Land to hold to him and his Heirs Male.

The Common Council of the Trustees (in whom by the Charter the disposal of Money was lodged) did resolve at their first meeting, that the Bank of *England* should be desired to keep the Money belonging to the Trust, which the Bank accepted, and have continued so to do, paying no Sums but by Draughts signed by five of the Common Council.

The Trustees desired by a Letter, Sir *Thomas Lombe's* sentiments of the Goodness of the Raw Silk produced in *Carolina*, and the proper methods of carrying on that Undertaking with Success, on which they received * from Sir *Thomas Lombe* great Encouragement to proceed in it, by his Approbation of the Silk produced in that Climate, of which he had made Experiments.

On the 28th *February* 1732, the Trustees received a Letter from Mr. *Oglethorpe*, dated the 13th *January*, 1732, on Board the Ship *Anne*, of *Charles-Town* in *South Carolina*, giving an Account of his safe Arrival there with the People, with the Loss only of two Children.

On the 18*th* of *July*, 1733, they received another Letter from him, which is here inserted at length, as it gives an Account of the situation were he Planted the People.

From the Camp near Savannah, *the* 10th February, 1732, 3.

Gentlemen,

I *Gave you an Account in my last, of our Arrival at* Charles-Town; *The Governor and Assembly have given us all possible Encouragement. Our People arrived at* Beaufort *on the* 20th *of*

* Appendix, No 1.

January, *where I lodged them in some new Barracks built for the Soldiers, whilst I went myself to view the* Savannah-River. *I fixed upon a Healthy Situation about ten Miles from the Sea; the River here forms an half Moon, along the south side of which the Banks are about forty feet high, and on the Top a Flat, which they call a Bluff; the plain High Ground extends into the Country about five or six Miles, and along the River side about a Mile. Ships that draw twelve feet Water can ride within ten Yards of the Bank. Upon the River side in the Centre of this Plain, I have laid out the Town, opposite, to which is an Island of very Rich Pasturage, which I think should be kept for the Trustees Cattle; the River is pretty Wide, the Water fresh, and from the Key of the Town you see it's whole Course to the Sea, with the Island of* Tybee, *which forms the Mouth of the River, for about six Miles up into the Country. The Landskip is very agreable, the stream being Wide and bordered with high Woods on both sides. The whole People arrived here on the* 1st *of* February; *at Night their Tents were got up. Till the* 10th *we were taken up in unloading, and making a Crane, which I then could not get finished, so took off the Hands and set some to the Fortification and began to fell the Woods. I have markt out the Town and Common, half of the former is already cleared, and the first House was begun Yesterday in the afternoon. A little* Indian *Nation, the only one within fifty Miles, is not only in Amity, but desirous to be Subjects to his Majesty King* George, *to have Lands given them among us, and to breed their Children at our Schools; their Chief, and his beloved Man, who is the Second Man in the Nation, desire to be instructed in the Christian Religion.*

I am, Gentlemen, *&c.*

In this Month of *April*, the Trustees in another Embarkation of seventeen Persons, sent some *Italians* whom they had procured from *Piedmont*, in order to promote the Silk Business.

They received another Letter from Mr. *Oglethorpe*, dated the 20*th February*, 1732, of which the following Extract gives a further Account of the People and their Situation.

" *OUR People are all in perfect Health; I chose the Situation*
" *for the Town upon an high Ground, forty Feet per-*
" *pendicular above High Water Mark; the Soil dry and sandy,*
" *the Water of the River fresh, Springs coming out from the*
" *sides of the Hill. I pitched upon this Place not only for the*
" *Pleasantness of the Situation, but because from the above-*
" *mentioned and other signs, I thought it Healthy; for it is*
" *sheltred from the Western and Southern Winds (the worst in*
" *this Country) by vast Woods of Pine-Trees, many of which*
" *are an Hundred and few under Seventy Feet high. There*

" *is no Morse on the Trees, tho' in most parts of* Carolina *they*
" *are covered with it, and it hangs down two or three feet from*
" *them. The last and fullest conviction of the Healthfulness of*
" *the Place, was, that an* Indian *Nation who knew the Nature*
" *of this Country chose it for their Situation.*"

The Trustees endeavoured very early to secure the Friendship of the *Indians*, who by Ranging thro' the Woods, would be capable of giving constant Intelligence to prevent any Surprize upon the People, and would be a good out Guard for the inland Parts of the Province. For this Purpose they were treated with all possible Candour and Gentleness: They were acquainted, that the *English* had no Intention to Hurt or Distress them, but would be ready to Assist and Protect them on all Occasions. They received several Presents from the Trustees, and were promised, that if any of the People of *Georgia* injured them, they should upon their Complaints and proof of it find a ready Redress. For which, in return, the *Indians* engaged never to take any Revenge themselves, as it might breed ill Blood between the *English* and them. And as they have since found, that Justice has been always done to them upon proper Complaints, they have been true to their Engagements.

The *Indians* made a formal and voluntary Cession of that part of the Country to Mr. *Oglethorpe* for the King of *Great-Britain* by which a further Right and Title to it was acquired and added to that of the first Discovery and Cultivation; and a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with them was settled, which was soon after sent over to the Trustees for their Ratification.

In the Month of *May* 1733, the Trustees sent over six Persons more.

The Number of People sent on the Charity from the beginning to the *9th June* 1733, (on which day of the Month the Trustees Accompt is Yearly made up, which is directed to be delivered to the Lord Chancellor and the other Persons named in the Charter) amounted to One hundred and fifty two, of whom One hundred and forty one were *Britons*, and Eleven were foreign Protestants, and sixty one were Men.

The Lands granted in Trust this Year in order to be granted out in smaller Portions in *Georgia*, were the aforesaid five thousand Acres.

The Lands granted within this Year to Persons going at their own Expence, were four thousand four hundred and sixty Acres.

The Money received from Private Persons this Year amounted to 3723*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* whereof the Trustees applied 2254*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* of which they exhibited an Account to the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, pursuant to their Charter, and carried the Remainder into their succeeding Accompt.

From the 9th *June* 1733, to the 9th *June* 1734.

BEsides the several Works on which the People were employed at *Savannah*, as Pallisading the Town, Clearing the Place from Pine Trees, *&c.* and Building of Houses, some other Works were carried on, *viz.* a Publick Garden was laid out, which was designed as a Nursery, in order to supply the People for their several Plantations with white Mulberry Trees, Vines, Oranges, Olives, and other necessary Plants. A Gardiner was appointed for the Care of it and to be Paid by the Trustees. A Crane was made for Landing of Goods upon the Bluff; a Battery raised which Commands the River some distance below the Town, and on the Island of *Tybee* at the Entrance of the River a Beacon was Erected Ninety Feet high, which has been of great Service not only to the Ships entering the River *Savannah*, but to those likewise which Sail by the Coast, there being none like it all along the Coast of *America*.

A Fort was likewise Built at the narrow passages of an inland River (called *Ogeechee*) in order to Protect the Settlement from any inland Invasion from *Augustine*. Two little Villages were laid out and settled at about Four Miles distant from *Savannah*, inland from the River, and a Mile from each other, which were called *Hampstead* and *Highgate*.

In the *Carolina Gazette* * dated the 22d *March* 1732, a further Account was given of the Settlement at *Savannah*, which was Written by a Gentleman of *Charles-Town*, who with some others went thither out of Curiosity.

The Parliament having Granted out of Money arisen from the Sale of the Lands at *St. Christopher*, *Ten Thousand Pounds* for the further Settling and Securing the Colony, the Trustees resolved to lose no Time in Strengthening it with People, and accordingly in the Months of *September* and *October* 1733, they sent over two Embarkations of Persons, whose Numbers are entered at the End of this Years Proceedings, and of whom many were Persecuted Protestants from *Saltzburgh*.

As very pleasing Accounts of the Country and Settlement were sent from several of the People there to their Friends, the Trustees were informed that some Persons had gone about in several Parts of *England* offering Money and Land in their Names (but without their Knowledge or Authority) to any who should be desirous of going to *Georgia*: Therefore they Published an Advertisement in some of the News Papers, in order to prevent the ill Consequences of drawing Laborious People out of the Country with such Expectations, and they declared that they had never given such Power to any Persons whatsoever, and that they never used any Solicitations to induce People to go over.

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*Appendix, No 2.

	Number sent.	*British*	*Foreign Protestants.*	*Men*
The Persons sent on the Charity this Year were - - -	341 whereof	237 and	104 and in	135
Those in the former Year were	152 whereof	141 and	11 and in	61
The number of Persons sent in the two Years to the 9 June 1734 were	493 whereof	378 and	115 and in	196

The Lands Granted in Trust this Year in order to be Granted out in smaller Portions in *Georgia* were Eight Thousand and One Hundred Acres.

The Lands Granted this Year to Persons going at their own Expence were Five Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty five Acres.

The Money received this Year pursuant to Act of Parliament was £.10,000 and from private Persons 1502*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* whereof the Trustees applied 6863*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* of which they exhibited an Account to the Lord Chancellor and Master of the Rolls, pursuant to their Charter, and carried the Remainder into their succeeding Accompt.

From the 9th *June* 1734, to the 9th *June* 1735

IN the Month of *June* 1734, Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrived from the Colony, and with him came some of the principal *Indians* of the *Lower Creek Nation* who live nearest to *Savannah*.

When these *Indians* were in *England*, they desired of the Trustees that the Measures, Prices and Qualities of all Goods to be Purchased by them with their Deer-skins, might be settled, as likewise the Weights; that nobody might be allowed to Trade with the Indians in *Georgia* without a Licence from the Trustees. in order that if they were in any respect Injured or Defrauded by the Traders, they might know were to Complain; and they further desired there might be but one Storehouse in each Indian Town for supplying them with the Goods they might want to Purchase, from whence the Trader should be obliged to supply them at the first Prices.

The Reason which the Indians gave for this Application, was, because the Traders with them had often in an Arbitrary Manner raised the Prices of Goods, and defrauded them in the Weights and Measures, and by their Impositions had often created Animosities between the English and Indians, which had frequently ended in Wars between them prejudicial to both.

The Trustees having considered of their Request, and being

informed that the Council and Assembly of *Carolina* had passed an Act the 20th *August* 1731, entituled, *An Act for the better Regulation of the Indian Trade, and for appointing a Commissioner for that purpose with Regulations*, which the Trustees hoped might be effectual in *Georgia*, prepared an Act, entituled, *An Act for Maintaining the Peace with the Indians in the Province of* Georgia, *with the same Regulations and provisions as were in the* Carolina *Act;* which Act ceased to be in Force in *Georgia* since it was erected into a Distinct Independent Province not subject to the Laws of *Carolina*.

The Trustees receiving frequent Informations from the Colony of the pernicious Effects of Drinking Rum and other Spirituous Liquors, by not only creating Disorders amongst the Indians (who had been plentifully supplied with it by the Traders) but also Destroying many of the English, and throwing the People into various Distempers, prepared an Act, entituled, *An Act to prevent the Importation and Use of Rum and Brandies in the Province of* Georgia, *or any kind of Spirits or Strong Waters Whatsoever*. At the same time they endeavoured to supply the Stores with Strong Beer from *England*, Mollasses for Brewing Beer, and with *Madeira* Wines, which the People might purchase at reasonable Rates, and which would be more refreshing and wholesome for them. The Magistrates of the Town of *Savannah* were likewise impowered to grant Licences to private Persons for Retailing Beer, Ale, *&c.* And the Trustees have great Reason to believe that the remarkable Healthiness of *Ebenezer* in the Nothern Part, and *Frederica* in the Southern Part of *Georgia*, is very much owing to the Prohibition of the Use of Rum: For in those Part where Rum in defiance of the Act has been introduced, the People have not in general been so Healthy and Vigorous.

At the same Time the Trustees taking into Consideration the many Inconveniencies which would attend the Introduction of Negroes in a Frontier, for the several Reasons before specified, prepared an Act for rendering the Colony of *Georgia* more Defensible by prohibiting the Importation and Use of Black Slaves or Negroes into the same.

These Three Acts were laid before the King in Council in the Month of *January* 1734, and after a Report from the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to the Committee of Council, that they were proper to receive his Majesty's Royal Approbation, they were Ratified by his Majesty in Council.

Tho' the Lands Granted by the Trustees were to Revert to them on failure of Issue Male, in order to be re-granted for keeping up a number of Men; yet the Trustees as Guardians of the People when any such Failure happened, resolved that the value

of the Improvements upon the Lands of the late Occupiers, should be Valued and Paid to or for the Benefit of the Female Issue or near Relation, and the first Issue of such a Failure being on the Death of Mr. *De Farren*, the Value of the Improvements he had made upon his Estate was on the 5th *Febr.* 1734 Ordered and Paid for the Use of his Daughter in *England*, who being destitute would have been absolutely unable to proceed in the Cultivation of her Father's Lot.

Two Embarkations were made this Year, whose Numbers are hereafter mentioned, which consisted chiefly of *Saltzburghers*, who with the *Saltzburghers* that went before, were settled in a Town called by them *Ebenezer* upon the River *Savannah*, at some distance above the Town, and by the Sobriety and Industry of the People they prove a very thriving Settlement.

	Number sent.	*British*	*Foreign Protestants*	*Men*
The Persons sent on the Charity this Year were – – –	81 whereof	23 and	58 and in	4[illegible]
Those in the former Years were	493 whereof	378 and	115 and in	196
The number of Persons sent in the three Years to the 9 June 1735 were	574 whereof	401 and	173 and in	239

The Lands Granted in Trust this Year in order to be Granted out in smaller Portions in *Georgia* were Two Thousand Five Hundred Acres.

The Lands Granted this Year to Persons going at their own Expence were One Thousand Nine Hundred Acres.

The Money received this Year in Benefactions amounted to 5416*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* whereof given in *South-Carolina* 464*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* the Amount in Sterling Money and in *England* 4951*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.* which the Trustees applied, as also part of their former Balance to the Amount of 11,194*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* of which they exhibited an Account to the Lord Chancellor, and Master of the Rolls, pursuant to their Charter, and carried the then Remainder into their succeeding Account.

From the 9th *June* 1735, to the 9th *June* 1736.

THat all Persons who should be desirous of going to *Georgia* might be apprized in Time of the several Conditions they were to Perform,* Rules were drawn up and Printed for those who should be sent on the Charity, as well as those who should go

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* Appendix, No 3, and 4.

on their own Expence, in which the Conditions were specified as well as the Necessaries for their Subsistence and Labour.

The Parliament having in the Year 1735 Granted *Twenty six Thousand Pounds* for the further Settling and Securing the Colony of *Georgia*, the Trustees thought it prudent to strengthen the Southern Part of the Province by making a Settlement on the *Alatamaha* River, to which they were strongly induced by a * Memorial sent to his Majesty from the Governor and Council of *South-Carolina*, dated the 9th *April* 1734, wherein after Thanking his Majesty for his peculiar Favour and Protection, and especially for his most benign Care so wisely calculated for the Preservation of *South-Carolina*, by his Royal Charter to the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of *Georgia*, and after Representing the Practices of the *French* to seduce the Indians in Amity with *South-Carolina*, the Attention of the *French* to the Improvement of their Settlements, and their late Enlargement of them nearer to *Carolina*, the Defenceless Condition of their Province, and the Danger of the Inhabitants from their own Negroes, and the Ruinous Situation of the *West-India* Trade in case the *French* should possess themselves of *Carolina*; they add, that the Harbours and Ports of *Carolina* and † *Georgia* enable his Majesty to be absolute Master of the Passage thro' the Gulph of *Florida*, and to impede at his Pleasure the Transportation Home of the *Spanish* Treasure, which should his Majesty's Enemies Possess would then prove so many convenient Harbours for them to annoy a great Part of the *British* Trade to *America*, as well as that which is carried on through the Gulph from *Jamaica*.

Upon which Inducements the Trustees resolved to make Embarkations for Strengthening the Southern Part of *Georgia*, and to obviate any Objections which might be made by sending over any of our useful Poor from *England;* and as the Trustees found that many of the Poor who had been useless in *England* were inclined to be useless likewise in *Georgia*, they determined that these Embarkations should consist chiefly of Persons from the Highlands of *Scotland*, and Persecuted *German* Protestants.

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* Appendix, No 5.

† The Harbour in the Southern Part of *Georgia* the nearest to the Gulph of *Florida* which has yet been Sounded, has been proved by Affidavits of three Captains of Ships who have been there, viz. Capt. *Thomas Shubrick*, Capt. *George Dymond*, and Capt. *William Thomson*, to be capable of receiving Ships of Forty Guns, and to be safely Land locked: And by the ‡ Affidavit of *Thomas Pearce* Mariner, who was on the Coast of *Georgia* near four Years, it appears, that Ships in this Harbour may in Twenty four Hours from the Bar, run out into the Gulph Stream of *Florida*, thro' which Stream the *Spanish* Galleons (when not passing the Windward Passage) always come.

‡ *Appendix*, No 6.

While these Embarkations were preparing, the Trustees made Preparations for the new Settlements: They Established the Civil Government for the new Town (which was called *Frederica*) in the same Manner as they had before at *Savannah*.

In the Month of *January* 1735, the Highlanders arrived in *Georgia* (and with them several of the same Country as Servants to private Grantees) they were settled on the *Alatamaha* River, about Sixteen Miles distant by Water from the Island of *St. Simons* (which is at the Mouth of the River) they soon raised convenient Huts 'till their Houses could be Built; and the Town at their own desire was called *Darien*; which Name still remains to the District, but the Town is since Named by them *New-Inverness*.

On the 6th *February* 1735, the Embarkation under the Conduct of Mr. *Oglethorpe*, arrived in *Georgia*, they were settled upon *St. Simon's* Island, the Town called *Frederica* was soon laid out, and the People were set to Work in Building their Houses. The *Creek Indians* who went thither upon Occasion of this new Settlement, agreed that the English should possess *St. Simon's* Island, with the Others contiguous to it: The Land of the Island is very fertile, chiefly Oak and Hickery, intermixed with Savannahs and old Indian Fields, and according to a Survey made of it, it is about Forty five Miles in Circumference.

For a Communication between the Settlements in the Northern and Southern Parts of the Province by Land, a Road was soon afterwards opened.

	Number sent.	*British.*		*Foreign Protestants.*		*Men.*
The Persons sent on the Charity this Year were - - -	470 whereof	341	and	129	and in	224
Those in the former Years were	574 whereof	401	and	173	and in	239
The number of Persons sent in the four Years to the 9June 1736 were	1044 whereof	742	and	302	and in	463

The Lands Granted in Trust this Year in order to be Granted out in smaller Portions were Twenty Thousand Acres; And in Trust for Religious Uses, to be cultivated, with the Money arising from Private Benefactions given for that Purpose, in order to settle a Provision upon a Clergyman at *Savannah*, a Catechist and a Schoolmaster, Three Hundred Acres.

The Lands Granted this Year to Persons going on their own Expence were Nine Thousand Three Hundred Acres.

The Money received this Year pursuant to Act of Parliament, was £.26,000, and in Benefactions 2,164*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* 3*q.* whereof in *South-Carolina* 411*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* 3*q.* the Amount in Sterling Mo-

ney and in *England* 1,753*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* whereof the Trustees applied 22,697*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* 3*q.* of which they exhibited an account to the Lord Chancellor, and Master of the Rolls, pursuant to their Charter, and carried the Remainder into their succeeding Accompt.

From the 9th *June* 1736, to the 9th *June* 1737.

FOr the Security of the People (who were settled the last Year on *St. Simon's* Island) and the Southern Part of the Province, several Forts were Built this Year, *viz.*

One at *Frederica*, with Four regular Bastions and a Spur Work towards the River, and several Pieces of Cannon were mounted on it.

About Ten Miles from *Frederica* a large Battery is Built commanding the Entrance into the Sound, where Ten or Twelve Forty Gun Ships may safely Ride, there being sufficient Water on the Bar called *Jekyll* for such Ships to go over, which Bar lies in 30d. 40m. and behind *Jekyll* Island there is Water and Room enough for Shipping for Ten Miles up. The Battery is enclosed within a strong Wall, and has a Guard-House within the Wall capable of holding Twenty four Men.

Another Fort was Built on the Southwest Part of the Island of *St. Peters* (now called *Cumberland*) which lies in 30d. 30m. under which Fort, on which are Mounted several Pieces of Ordnance pointed towards the River, all Sloops and Boats in the Inland Passage to this Island must come. Within the Pallisade round the Fort there are fine Springs of Water, and there is a well Framed Timber Log House, Thirty Feet by Eighteen, with a Magazine under it both for Ammunition and Provisions. A Scout Boat is stationed at this Island.

As these Precautions were taken for the Southern Part of the Province, Directions were given for a Fort to be Built for the Security of the Northern Part, by way of an Out-Guard against any Invasion by Land. This was at a Place called *Augusta* which has proved a very thriving Town, it being now the chief Place of Trade with the Indians, and were the Traders of both Provinces of *South-Carolina* and *Georgia* resort, from the Security they find there. *Augusta* is about Two Hundred and Thirty Miles by Water from the Town of *Savannah*, and large Boats which carry about Nine Thousand Pounds Weight of Deer-skins can Navigate down the River *Savannah*. The Town, which stands upon a high Ground near the River, is well Inhabited, and has several Warehouses in it furnished with Goods for the Indian Trade. A Road has been likewise made, so that Horsemen can now Ride from this Town to *Savannah*, as likewise to the

Cherokee Indians, who are situated above the Town of *Augusta* and Trade with it. A Garrison has been kept at this Fort at the Trustees Expence, 'till the Arrival of the Regiment his Majesty since Ordered for the Defence of the Colony.

Whilst these Dispositions were making for the Security of the Province, the Parliament gave *Ten Thousand Pounds* this Year for the further Settling and Securing the Colony; but as the Expences of the Forts and the Supplies which were sent for the Support of the Colony, were very great, and as many People in the Northern Part of the Province were as yet unable to subsist themselves, and out of Compassion to them and their Families a Store was still kept open for their subsistence, the Trustees sent over but few Persons this Year.

In the beginning of the Year 1737, the *Spaniards* at *Augustine* made Preparations for Attacking the Colony of *Georgia*; they laid in Quantities of Corn and Provisions, bought up a great number of Fire Arms, and large Bodies of Regular Troops were sent thither from the *Havannah*.

The Lieutenant Governor of *South-Carolina* informed the Magistrates of *Savannah* of these Preparations; This Advice and the frequent Alarms which were otherwise given, drew the People off from their Labour in the Sowing Season, and their Improvements in their Plantations were neglected, and they were obliged to make Preparations for their Defence.

At the same Time the Highlanders at *New-Inverness*, who were exposed to Danger, Built a Fort there and Twelve Pieces of Cannon were mounted on it.

Tho' the People at *Savannah* were not so immediately exposed to Danger, they began to Build a large Fort at their Town of Pallisade Work with Bastions: But as the Trustees perceived this took off the People from their Cultivation, that the Work would be very Chargeable and they had not Money to support the Expence, they found themselves under a Necessity to put a stop thereto.

	Number sent.		*British.*		*Foreign Protestants.*		*Men.*
The Persons sent on the Charity this Year were - - -	32	whereof	32	and		and in	19
Those in the former Years were	1044	whereof	742	and	302	and in	463
The number of Persons sent in the five Years to the 9 June 1737 were	1076	whereof	774	and	302	and in	482

The Lands Granted in Trust this Year in order to be Granted out in smaller Portions in *Georgia* were Three Thousand Acres,

and in Trust to be cultivated, with the Money arising from private Benefactions given for that Purpose, in order to raise a Maintenance for a Minister and Schoolmaster at *Frederica*, and other Religious Uses, Three Hundred Acres.

The Lands Granted this Year to Persons going on their own Expence were Four Thousand Three Hundred Acres.

The Money received this Year pursuant to Act of Parliament, was £ 10,000, and in Benefactions 3,627*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* whereof in *South-Carolina* the Amount in Sterling Money 333*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* and in *England* 3,293*l.* 19*s.* 1*d.* which the Trustees applied, as also part of their former Balance to the Sum of 17,239*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* of which they exhibited an Account to the Lord Chancellor, and Master of the Rolls, pursuant to their Charter, and carried the then Remainder to their succeeding Accompt.

From the 9th *June* 1737, to the 9th *June* 1738.

THE Lieutenant Governor of *South-Carolina* having acquainted the Trustees by a Letter dated from the Council Chamber the 7th *February* 1736,7, that he had received Advice from Commodore *Dent*, of Preparations made by the *Spaniards* at *Augustine* and the *Havannah*, in order to make an Attack on the Colony of *Georgia*, and the Trustees having in a * Memorial to his Majesty set forth the Inability of the Colony to Protect themselves against such a Force as was Preparing at the *Havannah* and *Augustine*, his Majesty was graciously pleased to order a Regiment of Six Hundred Effective Men to be raised and sent to *Georgia* for the Defence and Protection of it.

And as an Encouragement for the Soldiers good Behaviour, the Trustees resolved to give each of them a Property in the Colony; they therefore made a Grant of land in Trust for an Allotment of Five Acres of Land to each Soldier of the Regiment to Cultivate for his own Use and Benefit, and to Hold the same during his continuance in his Majesty's Service; and for a further Encouragement, they resolved, that each Soldier, who at the end of Seven Years from the Time of his Inlisting in the Regiment, should be desirous of quitting his Majesty's Service, and should have his regular Discharge, and would settle in the Colony, should on his Commanding Officer's Certificate of his good Behaviour, be intitled to a Grant of Twenty Acres of Land.

The Parliament having taken into Consideration the great Expences which the Trustees had been at in making Roads thro' the Province, and the several Fortifications in it, and the Presents made to the Indians to engage them firmer in the *British* Interest.

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* Appendix, No 7.

and likewise the Preparations which were making by the *Spaniards* in order to take or destroy the Colony, and having Granted this Year a Sum of *Twenty Thousand Pounds* for the further Settling and securing the Colony, the Trustees made another Embarkation, which consisted chiefly of Persecuted *German* Protestants.

	Number sent.	*British.*	*Foreign Protestants.*	*Men.*
The Persons sent on the Charity this Year were - - -	298 whereof	135 and	163 and	in 152
Those in the former Years were	1076 whereof	774 and	302 and	in 482
The number of Persons sent in the six Years to the 9 June 1738 were	1374 whereof	909 and	465 and	in 634

By Accounts received from the Colony before the End of this Year, there appear to have been One Thousand One Hundred and Ten Persons in *Georgia*, besides those at *Tybee*, *Skidoway* Fort, *Argyll*, *Thunderbolt* and *Augusta*, in the Northern Part, and those at *St. Andrews* and *Amelia* in the Southern Part.

The Lands Granted in Trust this Year in order to be Granted out in smaller Portions in *Georgia* were Three Thousand Acres.

The Lands Granted this Year to Persons going on their own Expence were One Thousand Acres.

The Money received this Year pursuant to Act of Parliament was £20,000 and in Benefactions 909*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.* 2*q.* whereof the Trustees applied 18,870*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.* 2*q.* of which they exhibited an Account to the Lord Chancellor, and Master of the Rolls, pursuant to their Charter, and carried the Remainder into their succeeding Accompt.

From the 9th *June* 1738, to the 9th *June* 1739.

AS several Merchants and Captains of Ships had for their own Interest carried into the Colony from *New-York* and other Places, large Cargoes of Provisions, *&c.* great part of which (to save the Merchants from Losses) was taken in at the Store without a proper Authority from the Trustees and an Expence created thereby which the Trustees could nor Estimate, nor have Ability to Discharge, and for which certified Accounts were returned to them; the Trustees published an Advertisement in the *London Gazette*, and Ordered it to be Published in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, and to be affixed upon the Doors of the Store-houses at *Savannah* and *Frederica*, That out of a due Regard to Publick Credit they had Resolved, that all Expences which they had Ordered or should Order to be Made in *America* for the use

of the Colony, should be Defrayed and Paid for in *Georgia*, in Sola Bills of Exchange only, under their Seal; and they gave Notice, that no Person whatsoever had any Authority from them, or in their Name, or for their Account, to purchase or receive any Cargoes of Provisions, Stores or Necessaries, without Paying for them in the said Sola Bills.

Upon the Petition of one *Abraham De Lyon*, a Freeholder of *Savannah* in *Georgia*, that he had expended a great Sum in the Cultivation of Vines, which he had carried from *Portugal*, and had brought to great Perfection; and several Certificates being produced of his Improvements in Cultivating them, and of the Goodness of the Grapes, and of their Thriving in the most barren Lands of the Province, the Trustees assisted him to proceed in his Improvements.

The Security of the Colony being provided for by the Regiment sent over by his Majesty, the Parliament gave *Eight Thousand Pounds* for the further Settling the Colony. Therefore the Trustees sent over an Estimate of all the Expences they allowed to be made in the Province, by which several Military Expences, which they had been engaged in for the Defence of the Colony, and which were very great, were reduced.

The Trustees this Year sent over the Rev. Mr. *Norris* to reside at *Frederica*, with a Salary of *Fifty Pounds* a Year, Ordered a House to be Built for him, and another for the Inhabitants to perform Divine Service in 'till a Church could be Built there.

The Assembly of *South-Carolina* having in the last Year passed an Ordinance for raising a Sum to indemnify their Traders in opposition to the Act which was approved of by his Majesty in Council for maintaining the Peace with the Indians in the Province of *Georgia*, upon a Memorial from the Trustees complaining of the said Ordinance, and upon a Petition of the Council and Assembly of *South-Carolina* against the said Act, there was a solemn Hearing before the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and afterwards before a Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council; Whereupon his Majesty was pleased to Order, that the said Ordinance of the Assembly of *South-Carolina* should be Repealed and declared Void, and was pleased to send an Instruction to the Trustees to prepare a proper Act or Ordinance for settling the Trade carried on by the Provinces of *South-Carolina* and *Georgia* with the Indians, on such a Footing as might be for the mutual Benefit and Satisfaction of both Provinces; And his Majesty at the same Time was graciously pleased to give an Instruction to *Samuel Horsey*, Esq; Governor and Lieutenant-General of *South-Carolina*, to Recommend to the Council and Assembly there to pass a Law for the like Purpose in that Province: But *Samuel Horsey*, Esq; dying soon after, and no

other Governor having since gone to *South-Carolina*, that Affair remains unsettled.

The Trustees immediately sent to Col. *Oglethorpe* a Copy of his Majesty's Instructions, and desired that he would Consult with Lieutenant Governor *Bull* in *South-Carolina*, that Plans of proper Acts might be prepared and sent over to the Trustees for their Consideration, in order to answer the Purposes of his Majesty's Instructions, and that in the mean Time the Commissioners of *South-Carolina* and the Commissioners of *Georgia*, might proceed in their respective Provinces in concert with each other to carry on a mutual Trade to the Indians in both Provinces.

Mr. *Stephens*, Secretary in *Georgia*, having informed the Trustees, that the Grand-Jury at *Savannah* claimed a Right of Administring Oaths, and making Enquiry thereon into all such Matters as they should think fit, and the Trustees having perceived that in a Representation of the said Grand-Jury they had pretended to such Right, sent a Letter to Mr. *Stephens* to acquaint him, That the Trustees were sensible great Mischiefs might be done by ill-designing Men who might procure themselves to be put upon the Panel, if this Claim of the Grand-Jury was allowed of, and therefore the Trustees ordered him to acquaint the People that the Grand-Jury had no such Right, and that their Claim was intirely illegal.

As the Trustees both by their Letters and Instructions to the Magistrates had constantly exhorted and encouraged the People to a Cultivation of their Lands on which they were to Depend for their Support, and as they found that many (as well of those whom they had sent over as Objects of Charity, as of others who at different Times had gone into the Colony from other Plantations for a Temporary Maintenance) still continued in their Idleness, and were a Burthen upon the Trust, they gave Orders for striking off the Store all such as having had Time to Cultivate their Lands had neglected it. This carried from the Colony many of those who had gone thither or joined it from any parts of *America* to gain a Subsistence for a Year or two, and of others who had not considered the Hardships of attending the first Settlement of a Country, and were tired of their Labour.

The Trustees receiving an Account dated the 12th *February* 1738 from their Secretary in the Province, of an Uneasiness amongst several Persons upon the Tenures of their Lots being confined to the Heirs Male, and they considering that the Colony had been for some Time Established, and the People grown more numerous, and a Regiment being stationed in it for it's Defence, whereby the former Tenures became less necessary, did on the 15 *March* following, at their Anniversary Meeting, resolve, That in Default of Issue Male, any legal Possessor of Land, might by

a Deed in Writing, or by his Last Will and Testament, appoint his Daughter as his Successor, or any other Male or Female Relation, with a Proviso, that the Successor should in the proper Court in *Georgia*, personally claim the Lot Granted or Devised within Eighteen Months after the Death of the Grantor or Devisor.

This was soon after extended to every legal Possessor's being impowered to appoint any other Person to be his Successor.

But whilst the Trustees were taking these steps for the Satisfaction of the People, and whilst those in the Southern Part of the Province (tho' exposed to greater Danger) were industrious and easy in their Settlements, many of those in the Northern Part, who had neglected the Cultivation of their Lands, drew up a * Representation dated the 9th *Dec.* 1738, setting forth the Want of a Fee Simple to their Lands; and Negroes to cultivate them, but they were far from being seconded or supported by the People in the Southern Parts of the Province, in this Representation, who not only refused to Sign it, but † Petitioned the Trustees against the Use of Negroes, setting forth the Danger they should be in from the *Spaniards* who had proclaimed Freedom to all Slaves who should resort to them, and that by this means they should be exposed to an Enemy without and a more dangerous one in their Bosoms.

The Industrious *Saltzburghers* also at *Ebenezer* (who are in the Northern Part of the Province not far from *Savannah*) ‡ Petitioned against Negroes, and set forth their Satisfaction and Happiness in their Settlement; that they had raised in the last Season, more Rice, Pease, Potatoes, Pomkins, Cabbage, Corn, *&c.* than was necessary for their Consumption, and that they did not find the Climate so Warm but that it was very tolerable for Working People.

	Number sent.	*British.*		*Foreign Protestants.*		*Men.*
The Persons sent on the Charity this Year were – – –	9 whereof	2	and	7	and in	4
Those in the former Years were	1374 whereof	909	and	465	and in	634
The number of Persons sent in the seven Years were 9 June 1739 were	1383 whereof	911	and	472	and in	638

The only Return from *Georgia* this Year, was an Account of the People at *Savannah*, who were One Hundred and Nine Freeholders, besides their Wives and Children, and besides

* Appendix, No 8. † Appendix, No 9. ‡ Appendix, No 10.

Inmates and Servants, of the latter of which there were a great Number, part of whose Passages were paid for in the next Year on Representations made to the Trustees for that Purpose.

The Lands Granted in Trust this Year to be Cultivated for the Maintenance of an Orphan House in *Georgia*, were Five Hundred Acres.

The Money received this Year pursuant to Act of Parliament, was £.8,000, and in Benefactions 473*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* which the Trustees applied, as also part of their former Balance to the Amount of 10,347*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* of which they exhibited an Account to the Lord Chancellor, and Master of the Rolls, pursuant to their Charter, and carried the then Remainder into their succeeding Accompt.

From the 9th *June* 1739, to the 9th *June* 1740.

AT the Time that some of the People at *Savannah* were so clamorous for Negroes (for Seventy five Land and Freeholders of whom Fifty two were Freeholders, did not apply for them) the Province of *South-Carolina* was under frequent Alarms on account of their Negroes there. They had Intelligence that a Conspiracy was formed by the Negroes in *Carolina* to Rise and forcibly make their Way out of the Province, to put themselves under the Protection of the *Spaniards;* who had proclaimed Freedom to all who should run away to them from their Owners. That this Conspiracy was discovered at *Winyar* the most Northern Part of that Province, from whence as the Negroes must bend their Course, it argued that the other Parts of the Province must be Privy to it, and that the Rising was to be universal. Whereupon the whole Province was upon their Guard; the number of Negroes in *South-Carolina* being computed to be about Forty Thousand, and the number of White Men at most not above Five Thousand. As several Negroes who were employed in Periaguas and other like Craft (which they carried off with them) had taken the Benefit of the *Spaniards* Proclamation and gone to *Augustine*, the Government of *South-Carolina* sent a solemn Deputation to Demand their Slaves; This Deputation consisted of Mr. *Brathwaite* a Member of the Council, Mr. *Rutlidge* one of the Assembly, and Mr. *Amian* Clerk of the Assembly; But the Governor of *Augustine* tho' in Time of profound Peace, peremptorily refused to deliver them up, and declared he had Orders to receive all such as should come there and protect them.

Upon this, and the Petition which was sent from the Highlanders at *Darien*, and the *Saltzburghers* at *Ebenezer*, representing the Danger and Inconvenience of the Introduction of Negroes, the

Trustees sent under their Seal * Answer to the Representation of some of the Inhabitants of *Savannah*.

Among the Persons to whom Grants of Land were made in order to their settling at their own Expence in the Colony, some never went over; others were Gentleman of *Carolina* who neglected to take up their Lands, or even desire to have them laid out: and others who quitted their Plantations, and went to reside at *Savannah* as Shop-keepers. One Man in particular an Apothecary Surgeon, from the beginning neglected his Grant and followed his Practice in the Town; another quitted his Plantation and betook himself to Selling of Rum: To these Two almost all the Town of *Savannah* were Indebted for Physick or Rum, and they first raised the Clamour that Lands might be alienable, and Negroes admitted, which would have made them Possessors of the chief Part of the Lots. To these some others who had gone at their own Expence, and had employed their Covenanted Servants on their Plantations joined themselves, taking their Servants from their Labour and letting them out to Hire in the Town for the sake of an immediate Profit, on which they lived in an idle and riotous manner; and even at the Time when their Servants were taken off from their proper Labour in their Plantations, they fomented the Clamour for Negroes in order to carry them on: The Spirit of Idleness which was very early introduced in the Town, many of the People were too ready to follow; constant Clubs have been held, and Horse Races kept up by them to amuse and divert the People from their Labour: And Delinquents (who have insulted the Laws even in the Courts of Justice and declared they would do their utmost to destroy the Colony) have when committed to Prison been abetted and supported by them. By these the beforementioned Representation was formed, and many of the People by their own Inclination to Idleness, by the Power the others had over them as Creditors, and by Hopes being given them that if they stuck together the Trustees must grant them Negroes, or see the Colony abandoned, were thus drawn in to Sign the same, in which they in a manner Demanded the Permission of Negroes and an Alteration of their Tenures.

The Trustees to make all the People as Easy and Contented as they could, published an Advertisement in the *London Gazette* the 8th *September* 1739, and other Papers, which was continued for several Days, and ordered it to be Published in the *South-Carolina Gazette*, that they had resolved to enlarge their Grants on Failure of Issue Male, and to make a Provision for the Widows of the Grantees in the following manner, *viz.* That the Lands already Granted should on Failure of Issue Male descend to the

* Appendix, No 11.

Daughters of such Grantees, and in case there should be no Issue Male or Female, that the Grantee might Devise such Lands, and for want of such Devise that such Lands should Descend to their Heirs at Law; with a Proviso that the Possession of the Person who should enjoy such Devise should not be increased to more than Five Hundred Acres, and that the Widows of the Grantees should Hold and Enjoy the Dwelling-House, Garden, and one Moiety of the Lands their Husbands should Die seized of for and during the Term of their Lives.

The Trustees directed in the Advertisement, that those who intended to have the Benefit given them should enter their respective Claims, in order that proper Grants and Conveyances in the Law might be forthwith prepared and executed for that purpose; and that no Fee or Reward was to be taken for the entering of any such Claim directly or indirectly by any Person or Persons whatsoever.

In the Month of *August* 1739, the Trustees received Advice from General *Oglethorpe*, That he had frequent Intelligence of the *Spaniards* endeavouring to Bribe the Indians and particular the *Creek Nation* into a Rupture with the English, which made it necessary for him to go to the General Assembly of the Indian Nations at the *Coweta-Town* about Five Hundred Miles distant from *Frederica*, in order to prevent such Designs and Seditions among them, and that he had been obliged to buy Horses and Presents to carry up to this Meeting, where the *Choctaws* (who are upon the Frontiers between the *English* and *French* Settlements) and the *Chickesaws* were to send their Deputies.

This Journey of General *Oglethorpe*'s has since appeared to be of great Service to the Publick; for on the 26 *August* 1739, Mr. *Stephens* received an Express from Col. *Bull* Lieutenant Governor of *South-Carolina*, that he had Intelligence from Lieutenant Governor *Clarke* of *New-York* concerning the *French* Marching from *Mont-Real* near *Quebeck* with a Body of about Two Hundred Regular Troops and Five Hundred Indians, who were to be re-inforced by French and Indians in their Journey: That this Army was designed against the Indians in Friendship with his *Britannick* Majesty's Subjects of *Carolina* and *Georgia* who are situated near some Branches of the *Mississippi* River. Col. *Bull* added, that he should immediately dispatch an Express to the *Creek-Nations* with Advice to General *Oglethorpe* of the Contents of Lieutenant Governor *Clarke*'s Letter, and that it was necessary that both the Provinces of *Carolina* and *Georgia* should be on their Guard, tho' if the *Creek Indians* should prove True the Danger would not be great; General *Oglethorpe* by his Treaties with the Indians in this Journey has confirmed them in the *British* Interest, and made a new Treaty with them whereby

their former Concession of Lands to *Great-Britain* was confirmed and Extended.

A parcel of Raw Silk was brought this Year from *Georgia* by one Mr. *Samuel Augspourguer*, who made an Affidavit before a Master in Chancery, that he received it from the Hands of Mr. *Thomas Jones* the Trustees Store-keeper at *Savannah*, who told him it was the Produce of *Georgia*, and the said *Samuel Augspourguer* who resided in the Southern Part of the Province said, That, when at *Savannah*, he saw the *Italian* Family there winding off Silk from the Coquos.

The Silk was shewed at the Trustees Office to Mr. *John Zachary* an eminent Raw Silk Merchant, and Mr. *Booth* one of the greatest Silk Weavers in *England*, who declared it was as fine as any *Italian* Silk, and that it was worth at least *Twenty Shillings* a Pound.

This Mr. *Samuel Augspourguer* who joined the Colony in the Year 1736, left it in *July* 1739, with two Men Servants and their Children on his Plantation, and came over to obtain a Grant of Five Hundred Acres of Land, and to get some of his own Countryman from the Canton of *Bearn* in *Switzerland* to go with him as Servants on his Return to *Georgia* in order to proceed more effectually in the Cultivation of his Lands.

	Number sent.	*British.*	*Foreign Protestants.*	*Men.*
The Person whose Passages were Paid for on the Charity were	138 whereof	4 and	134 and in	49
The persons sent on the Charity in the former Years were---	1383 whereof	911 and	472 and in	638
The number of Persons sent in the eight Years to the 9*th* *June* 1740, were	1521 whereof	915 and	606 and in	687

The Lands Granted this Year to be Cultivated at the Expence of the Incorporated Society in *Scotland* for promoting Christian Knowledge in order to raise a Maintenance for the Scots Minister at *New-Inverness* in *Georgia* were Three Hundred Acres.

The Lands Granted this Year to be Cultivated by a Person at his own Expence were Five Hundred Acres.

The Lands Granted in Trust in the said Eight Years in order to be Granted out in smaller Portions in *Georgia* were Forty one Thousand Six Hundred Acres; to be Cultivated for Religious Uses were Nine Hundred Acres, and to be Cultivated for the Maintenance of an Orphan House were Five Hundred Acres.

The Lands Granted in the said Eight Years to Persons who were to Cultivate them at their own Expence were Twenty seven Thousand One Hundred and Eighty five Acres.

The Money received this Year pursuant to Act of Parliament was £.20,000 and in Benefactions 181*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* 2*q.* whereof in *South-Carolina* the amount in Sterling Money 86*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* 2*q.* and in *England* 94*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* whereof the Trustees applied 16,61 1*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* 2*q.* of which they exhibited an Account to the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, pursuant to their Charter, and the Remainder of all the Money they ever received being 5917*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* will be carried into their succeeding Accompt.

From the 9th *June* 1740, to the present Time.

THe Trustees this Year took further Methods for the Satisfaction of the People in the Province, they extended the Tenures be which a Daughter of a Grantee, or any other Person, was made capable of enjoying by Devise or Inheritance, any quantity of Lands which did not increase her or his Possession to more than Two Thousand Acres.

A Licence was likewise Granted to all the present Possessors of land in *Georgia*, to make Leases of any Parts of their Lots for any Term not exceeding Three Years to any Person residing in *Georgia* and who should reside there during the Term of such Lease.

A general Release was likewise passed by which no Advantage was to be taken against any of the present Possessors of Land in *Georgia* for any Forfeitures incurred at any Time before Christmas 1740, in relation either to the Tenure or Cultivation of Lands, and the Possessors of Fifty Acres of land were not obliged to cultivate more than Five Acres thereof in Ten Years from their Grants, and those under Fifty Acres in proportion: And the Possessors of Five Hundred Acres of Land were not obliged to cultivate more than One Hundred and Twenty Acres thereof in Twenty Years from their Grants, and those of under Five Hundred Acres and above Fifty Acres in proporation in order to prevent any Forfeitures for want of Cultivating the Quantities required.

Under these Circumstances it is presumed that no Complaint can now with Reason be made against the Tenure by which the Inhabitants at this Time hold their Lands, since they have more Power than is Generally given by Marriage Settlements in which the Grantees are only Tenants for Life, incapable of Mortgaging or Aliening or making any Disposition by their Last Will, whereas the Freeholders in *Georgia* are now become Tenants in Tail-General, and may with the Licence of the Common Council of the said Trustees upon Application made to them for that purpose, Mortgage or Alien, and further without that Licence have it absolutely in their Power on Failure of Issue in Tail to dispose thereof by their Last Will.

By an Account received from the Secretary in the Province it appears, that on the 1st *August* 1740, about Seventy Freeholders of the Northern Part of the Province, delivered in the Town Court of *Savannah* their Claims of Lots under the Tenures which were Advertized the last Year in the *South-Carolina* and *London Gazettes*.

That on the 15th of the same Month, as many or more appeared in the said Town Court of the said Occasion, and that on the 27th of the same Month divers more delivered in their Claims likewise.

The Trustees are informed by their Secretary in the Province, that in pursuance of their Orders he had just finished an authentical Account of the State of the Colony with respect to the Number of Inhabitants in the several Towns and Villages, the Number of Houses and the Settlements made, the Progress which the several People had made in the Cultivation of their Lands, and their Ability or Inability to support themselves, and in case were the last appeared the Reason of it; the Proportions of the different sorts of Soil as near as could be computed, and an Account of the several Produces which by Experience or Appearance could or might be raised for trade. And the Trustees are daily in expectation of receiving from him the said Account. But by the several Accounts before received they are enabled to give, though an imperfect one, the following State of the Settlements, *viz.*

The Town of *Savannah* is about Ten Miles up the River *Savannah*, were are (besides Warehouses and Huts) at least One Hundred and Thirty Houses in the Town; as these for the sake of Air, and to prevent the spreading of any Fire, are Built at some Distance from each other, they make several spacious Squares and wide Streets. There is a regular Magistracy settled in the Town, which the Trustees are obliged to be at the Expence of Supporting, 'till the Colony arrives at sufficient Strength to do it. There are in the Town a Court-House, a Store-House, a Goal, a House for the Trust Servants, a Wharf, a Guard-House and some other Publick Buildings; a Church is at present Building and a Clergyman is settled there. The Town is excellently situated for Trade, the Navigation of the River being very secure and Ships of Three Hundred Tons can lie within Six Yards of the Town and the Worm does not Eat them.

About Four Miles from *Savannah*, inland from the River, are the Two Villages *Highgate* and *Hampstead*, which lie at about a Mile distant from each other: The People settled there apply themselves chiefly to Gardening, and supply the Town of *Savannah* with quantities of Greens and Garden stuff.

By the Account of Mr. *Thomas Stephens*, who at his Father's request was sent over to assist him in his Business of Secretary in the Province and continued with him there some short Time, he states, that there are Twenty Plantations within Twenty Miles

round *Savannah*, which have each of them from Five to Thirty Acres of Land Cleared.

About Fifteen Miles from *Savannah* is a Village called *Abercorn*; about Twenty Miles further up the River is the Town of *Ebenezer* were the *Saltzburghers* are settled with Two Ministers, one of whom computed that the Number of his Congregation in *June* 1738 consisted of One Hundred and Forty six. Therefore as the Infants could not be reckoned in the Computation, and as Seven more have since been sent and settled with them, it is believed the Number has been increased; especially since the Town is so Healthy that by a Letter sent to the Society for Propagating Christain Knowledge by the Rev. Mr. *Bolzius* one of the Ministers at *Ebenezer*, dated the 26 *June* 1740, he declared, That in a Year's Time one Person only had died, which was a Child of Four Years old. The People are Industrious and Sober, they raise not only a sufficient quantity of Corn and other Produces for their own Subsistence, but they sell great quantities to those at *Savannah* who have not been so careful of their own Plantations; they have great Herds of Cattle, and are in so Thriving a Condition that not one Person has abandoned his Settlement, or sent over the least Complaint about the Tenures or the Want of Negroes. On the contrary they in a Body Petitioned against the use of Negroes, and their Ministers have declared, that their Signing that Petition was a voluntary Act; And at their desire another Embarkation of their Countrymen, who are willing to go from *Germany* and join them, is designed to be sent with all convenient speed.

About Ten Miles from hence, and upon a River running into *Savannah* is a Place called *Old Ebenezer* were is a Cow-pen and a great number of Cattle for the use of the Publick and for Breeding.

At a considerable distance from hence is the Town of *Augusta* before described, which with the great resort of Traders and Indians, is in a thriving Condition, and is and will be a great Protection to both the Provinces of *Carolina* and *Georgia* against any Designs of the *French*.

In the Southern Part of the Province is the Town of *New Inverness* upon the River *Alatamaha* where the Highlanders are settled.

And about Twenty Miles from hence on the Island of *St. Simons* near the Sea is the Town of *Frederica* with a regular Magistracy, as at *Savannah*, supported at the Expence of the Trust; strong Fortifications round the Town are almost finished. and at the South East Point of the Island are Barracks for Three Hundred and Thirty Men.

There are Settlements on the Islands of *Jekyll* and *Cumberland* which lie at a small distance from each other to the Southward of *Frederica*, and on the last Two Forts are Built, one of which

was described before, and the other was finished in *April* 1740 upon the South End of the Island. It commands the Inlet of *Amelia* Sound, is strongly Pallisaded with Flankers, and is Defended by Eight Pieces of Cannon.

Barracks are Built upon this Island for Two Hundred and Twenty Men with Storehouses, which were finished in *October* 1738.

There are Six Forts in the Province, and a Battery of Cannon erected to secure the Harbour of *St. Simons*, under which Ships may safely lie.

The Indians, from the Presents which they have Annually received from the Trustees, and from the Justice and Humanity with which they have been treated, are secured in the *British* Interest, notwithstanding the Arts both of the *French* and the *Spaniards* to seduce them: By this *South-Carolina* has been free from those Wars, in which (as the Preamble of his Majesty's Charter sets forth) they had frequently suffered, and so late as in the Year 1715 had been laid almost Wast with Fire and Sword, and by the Security which *South-Carolina* received by such a Frontier as *Georgia* is to it, very large Tracts of Land have been Cultivated in the Southern Part of that Province, which no Person would venture to settle on before, and a great quantity of Rice raised thereon.

As the People in *Georgia* sent on the Charity were supported to enable them to raise their own Provisions in the first Place on the Lands they should Clear, and to convert the Timber they should cut down in Clearing those Lands into Lumber, which they might to their great Advantage Transport to the Sugar Colonies, and further to raise Silk, Wine and Oil, for which the Climate was very proper, it was hoped from thence they would gain a comfortable Subsistence, and be of service to their Mother Country in raising such Produces, which at prevent are purchased from Foreigners with Ready Money.

Having thus stated the Plan laid down for the Trustees by his Majesty's Charter, the several steps taken by them for the Execution of that Plan, with their Yearly Progress therein, the several Obstructions from unforeseen Accidents which have checked that Progress, with the present Condition of the Colony, according to the latest and most authentick Accounts from thence, they submit the whole to the Wisdom of this Honourable House, being intirely disposed to follow any Directions that shall flow from thence. And as they have no other View but the Service of their Country, by making this Colony as useful to the Interest of *Great-Britain*, as by it's Situation and Climate it's capable of being, they heartily with the Trust in abler Hands that those important Services might not be defeated thro' their Inability.

By Order of the Trustees,

Benj. Martyn, *Secretary*

APPENDIX.

Number 1.

To the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of GEORGIA.

Gentlemen,

IN Writing this Answer to a Letter I had the Honour to receive from you, dated the 29*th* Instant, wherein you desire to know my Sentiments of an Undertaking to raise Raw Silk in your new Settlement in *Georgia;* of the Probability of succeeding therein; the proper steps to be taken to bring that Work to Perfection, and my Opinion of the Nature, Quality and Use of the Raw Silk produced in *Carolina*: It is a great Pleasure to me, that from Experiments which I made some Years ago, I can now besides my Opinion, give you some Information concerning that Silk which may be depended upon.

The Value and Usefulness of the Undertaking will appear as soon as we consider that all the Silk consumed in this Kingdom, is now of foreign Growth and Manufacture, which Costs the Nation very great Sums of Money Yearly to purchase; and that the raising our Supply thereof in his Majesty's Dominions in *America* would save us all that Money, afford Employment to many Thousands of his Majesty's Subjects, and greatly increase the Trade and Navigation of *Great-Britain.*

It appears to me as Beneficial to the Kingdom, attended with as little Hazard or Difficulty, as much Wanted, and which may as soon be brought to Perfection in a proper Climate as any Undertaking so Considerable in itself, that I ever heard of. I therefore think that there is a very great Probability of it's succeeding, if such proper Methods are pursued, and such Assistance afforded to the poor People at their first setting out, as are necessary to Settle, Instruct and Encourage them.

The Silk produced in *Carolina* has as much natural Strength and Beauty as the Silk of *Italy* (which is commonly called fine Silk) and by the several Experiments I have tried with it, I am satisfied that it might be made to answer the same Purposes that *Italian* Silk now does, if it be reeled in short Skains, a fine clean and even Thread: To effect which if some experienced Persons are at first sent to Teach the People, the Work will soon be made

easy to the meanest Capacity, and the value of the Silk will be thereby greatly increased.

As for my own Part, if at any Time you should think I can be of use to promote so good a Work, I shall be ready to execute your Commands as far as I am able; and always remain,

Gentlemen,
Your most Obedient,
Humble Servant,
Tho. Lombe.

Old Jaory, Jan. 31, 1732.

Number 2.

Extract of a Letter from South-Carolina Gazette *dated at* Charles-Town, 22*d.* March 1732.

ON Tuesday the 13th Instant I went on Board a Canoa in Company with Mr. *Geo. Ducat* and Mr. *John Balantine*, with Four Negroes, and about 10 o'Clock we set out from Mr. *Lloyd's* Bridge for *Georgia*, and passing by *Port-Royal* on Wednesday Night, we arrived on Friday Morning an Hour before Day at *Yamacraw* a Place so called by the Indians, but now *Savannah* in the Colony of *Georgia*. Sometime before we came to the Landing the Centinel challenged us, and understanding who we were, admitted us on Shore. This is a very high Bluff Forty Feet perpendicular from High Water Mark: it lies according to Capt. *Gascoigne*'s Observation in the Latitude of 31d. 58m. which he took off *Tybee* an Island that lies at the Mouth of the *Savannah* River. It is distant from *Charlestown* S. W. according to Course and Windings of the Rivers and Creeks about 140 Miles, but by a Direct Course 77, allowing *Suillivant's* Island to be in the Latitude of 32d. 47m. from *Augustine* N. E. and by E. about 140 Miles, and by the Course of the Rivers is distant from *Fort Moore* 300 Miles, but upon a direct Line but 115 Miles N. W. and by W. This Bluff is distant 10 Miles from the Mouth of the Rivers on the South side, and *Purrysburgh* is 24 Miles above it on the North, and is so situated that you have a beautiful Prospect both up and down the River. It is very sandy and barren and consequently a wholsome Place for a Town or City. There are on it 130 odd Souls, and from the Time they Embarked from *London* to the Time I left the Place, there Died but two sucking Children and them at Sea. When they arrived there was standing on it a great quantity of the best sort of Pine, most of which is already cut down on the spot were the Town is laid out to be Built. The Land is barren about a Mile back, when you come into very rich Ground; and on both sides within a quarter of a Mile of the Town is choice good Planting Land.

Col. *Bull* told me that he had been Seven Miles back and found it extraordinary good.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* is indefatigable, takes a great deal of Pains, his Fare is but indifferent having little else at present but Salt Provisions. He is extreamly well beloved by all his People, the general Title they give him is *Father*. If any of them is Sick he immediately Visits them and takes a great deal of Care of them. If any Difference arises he is the Person that decides it. Two happened while I was there and in my Presence, and all the Parties went away to outward appearance Satisfied and Contented with his Determination. He keeps a strict Discipline, I never saw one of his People Drunk nor heard one of them Swear, all the Time I was there: He does not allow them Rum but in lieu gives them English Beer: It is surprizing to see how Chearful the Men go to Work considering they have not been bred to it; There are no Idlers there even the Boys and Girls do their Parts. There are Four Houses already up but none finished, and he hopes when he has got more Sawyers, which I suppose he will have in a short Time, to finish Two Houses a Week. He has ploughed up some Land, part of which he has sowed with Wheat, which is come up and looks promising. He has Two or Three Gardens which he has sowed with divers sorts of Seeds, and planted Thyme and other sort of Pot-herbs, Sage, Leeks, Skellions, Celeri, Liquorice, *&c.* and several sorts of Trees. He was Pallisading the Town round including some part of the Common, which I do suppose may be finished in about a Fortnight's Time, In short he has done a vast deal of Work for the Time, and I think his Name justly deserves to be immortaliz'd.

Mr. *Oglethorpe* has with him Sir *Walter Rawleigh*'s written Journal, and by the Latitude of the Place, the Marks and Traditions of the *Indians*, it is the very first Place where he first went on shore, and talked with the *Indians*, and was the first *Englishman* they ever saw; and about half a Mile from *Savannah* is a high Mount of Earth under which lies their Chief King: And the *Indians* informed Mr. *Oglethorpe* that their King desired before he died, that he might be Buried on the Spot were he talked with that great good Man.

The River Water is very good, and Mr. *Oglethorpe* has proved it several ways, and thinks it as good as the River of *Thames*. On Monday the 19*th* we took our Leave of Mr. *Oglethorpe* at Nine o'Clock in the Morning, and Embark'd for *Charlestown*; and when we set off he was pleased to Honour us with a Volley of Small Arms and the Discharge of Five Cannon: And coming down the Rivers we found the Water perfectly Fresh Six Miles below the Town, and saw Six or Seven large Sturgeon leap, with which Fish that River abounds, as also with Trout, Perch, Cat

and Rock Fish, *&c.* and in the Winter Season there is variety of Wild Fowl, especially Turkeys, some of them weighing Thirty Pounds, and abundance of Deer.

Number 3.

Rules for the Year 1735.

THE Trustees intend this Year to lay out a County and Build a new Town in *Georgia*.

They will give to such Persons as they send upon the Charity. *viz.*

To every Man,
- A Watchcoat,
- A Musquet and Bayonet to those who have them not of their own,
- An Hatchet,
- An Hammer,
- An Hand-saw
- A Shod Shovel or Spade.
- A broad Hoe,
- A narrow Hoe,
- A Gimlet,
- A Drawing Knife,
- And there will be a Publick Grindstone to each Ward or Village.
- He will also have an Iron Pot and a pair of Pot-hooks,
- And a Frying Pan.

And for his Maintenance in the Colony for one Year he will have,

To be delivered in such proportions and at such times as the Trust shall think proper.
- 300 Pounds of Beef or Pork,
- 114 Pounds of Rice,
- 114 Pounds of Pease,
- 114 Pounds of Flour,
- 44 Gallons of Strong Beer,
- 64 Quarts of Molasses for Brewing Beer.
- 18 Pounds of Cheese,
- 9 Pounds of Butter,
- 9 Ounces of Spice,
- 9 Pounds of Sugar.
- 5 Gallons of Vinegar,
- 30 Pounds of Salt,
- 12 Quarts of Lamp Oil & a Pound of spun Cotton, And 12 Pounds of Soap.

And to the Mothers, Wives, Sisters or Children of such Men.

Provision will be given in the Colony for One Year in the following manner, *viz.*

To each Head of them, that is to say to every Person of the Age of Twelve Years and upwards, *viz.*

To be delivered as above.

- 300 Pounds of Beef or Pork,
- 114 Pounds of Rice,
- 114 Pounds of Pease,
- 114 Pounds of Flour,
- 64 Quarts of Molasses for Brewing Beer.
- 18 Pounds of Cheese.
- 9 Pounds of Butter,
- 9 Ounces of Spice,
- 9 Pounds of Sugar,
- 5 Gallons of Vinegar,
- 30 Pounds of Salt,
- 6 Quarts of Lamp Oil and half a Pound of spun Cotton,
- And 12 Pounds of Soap.

And for every Person above the Age of Seven, and under the Age of Twelve, Half the said Allowance, being esteemed Half an Head.

And for every Person above the Age of Two and under the Age of Seven, one Third of the said Allowance, being esteemed one Third of an Head.

The Trustees pay their Passage from *England* to *Georgia*, and in the Voyage they will have the following Provisions, *viz.* In every Week Four Beef Days, Two Pork Days, and one Fish Day, and their Allowance served out daily as follows: That is to say,

On the Four Beef Days,

Four Pounds of Beef for every Mess of Five Heads,
And Two Pounds and an half of Flour,
And half a Pound of Suet or Plumbs.

On the Two Pork Days,

Five Pounds of Pork } for every Five Heads.
And Two Pints and half of Pease }

And on the Fish Day,

Two Pounds and half of Fish } for every Five Heads.
And half a Pound of Butter }

The whole at Sixteen Ounces to the Pound,

And allow each Head Seven Pounds of Broad of Fourteen Ounces to the Pound, by the Week.

And Three Pints of Beer and Two Quarts of Water (whereof one of the Quarts for Drinking and the other for Boiling Victuals) each Head by the Day for the space of a Month; and a Gallon of Water (whereof Two Quarts for Drinking and the other Two

for Boiling Victuals) each Head by the Day after during their being on the Passage.

The Heads to be accounted in this manner. Every Person above the Age of Twelve Years to be accounted a whole Head. All Persons of the Age of Seven Years and under the Age of Twelve Years to be accounted Two for One. All Persons above the Age of Two Years and under the Age of Seven Years to be accounted Three for One; and any Person under the Age of Two Years is not to be accounted.

And the said Persons are to enter into the following Covenants before their Embarkation, *viz.*

That they will repair on Board such Ship as shall be provided for Carrying them to the Province of *Georgia*, and during the Voyage, will Quietly, Soberly and Obediently demean themselves, and go to such Place in the said Province of *Georgia*, and there obey all such Orders as shall be given for the better Settling, Establishing and Governing the said Colony.

And that for the first Twelve Months from their Landing in the said Province of *Georgia*, they will Work and Labour in Clearing their Lands, making Habitations, and necessary Defences, and in all other Works for the common Good and publick Weal of the said Colony, at such Times, in such Manner, and according to such Plan and Directions as shall be given.

And that they from and after the Expiration of the said last mentioned Twelve Months, will, during the Two next succeeding Years, abide, settle and inhabit in the said Province of *Georgia*, and Cultivate the Lands which shall be to them and their Heirs Male severally allotted and given, by all such Ways and Means as according to their several Abilities and Skills they shall be best Able and Capable.

And such Persons are to be settled in the said Colony, either in new Towns or new Villages.

Those in the Towns will have each of them a Lot Sixty Feet in Front and Ninety Feet in Depth, whereon they are to Build an House, and as much Land in the Country as in the whole will make up Fifty Acres.

Those in the Villages will each of them have a Lot of Fifty Acres, which is to lie all together, and they are to Build their Houses upon it.

All Lots are Granted in Tail Male and Descend to the Heirs Male of their Bodies for ever: And in Case of Failure of Issue Male Revert to the Trust, to be Granted again to such Persons as the Common Council of the said Trustees shall think most for the Advantage of the Colony. And they will have a special regard to the Daughters of Freeholders, who have made Improvements on their Lots, not already provided for by having Married, or

Marrying Persons in Possession or intitled to Lands in the Province of *Georgia* in Possession or Remainder.

All Lots are to be preserved separate and undivided, and cannot be united, in order to keep up a Number of Men equal to the Number of Lots, for the better Defence and Support of the Colony.

No Person can Lease out his House or Lot to another without Licence for that Purpose, that the Colony may not be ruined by Absentees Receiving and Spending their Rents elsewhere, therefore each Man must cultivate the same by himself or Servants.

And no Person can Alienate his Land or any part, or any Term, Estate or Interest therein, to any other Person or Persons, without special Licence for that Purpose, to prevent the uniting or dividing the Lots.

If any of the Land so Granted, should not be Cultivated, Planted, Cleared, Improved or Fenced with a Worm Fence or Pales six Feet High, during the space of Ten Years from the Date of the Grant, then every part thereof not Cultivated, Planted Cleared, Improved or Fenced as aforesaid, shall belong to the Trust, and the Grant as to such parts shall be void.

There is reserved for the support of the Colony, a Rent Charge for ever, of *Two Shillings* Sterling Money for each Fifty Acres; the Payment of which is not to Commence 'till Ten Years after the Grant.

And the Reversion or Remainder expectant on the Demise of such Persons without Issue Male, shall remain to the Trust.

But the Wives of the Freeholders in case they should Survive their Husbands, are during their Lives intitled to the Mansion House and one half of the Lands Improved by their Husbands, that is to say, inclosed with a Fence of Six Feet High.

All Forfeitures for Non-Residence, High Treason, Felonies, *&c.* are to the Trustees for the Use of the Colony.

Negroes and Rum are Prohibited to be used in the said Colony, and Trade with the *Indians,* unless Licensed.

None are to have the Benefit of being sent upon the Charity in the manner above-mentioned, but,

1. Such as are in Decayed Circumstances, and thereby disabled from following any Business in *England,* and who if in Debt, must have leave from their Creditors to go.

2. Such as have Numerous Families of Children if Assisted by their respective Parishes, and Recommended by the Minister, Church-Wardens and Overseers thereof.

The Trustees do expect to have a good Character of the said Persons given, because no Drunkards or other notoriously vicious Persons will be taken.

And for the better to Enable the said Persons to Build the new Town, and Clear the Lands the Trustees will give leave to every

Freeholder, to take over with him, One Male Servant or Apprentice of the Age of Eighteen Years and upwards to be Bound for no less than Four Years, and will by way of Loan to such Freeholder, Advance the Charges of Passage for such Servant or Apprentice, and Furnishing him with the Cloathing and Provision hereafter mentioned, to be delivered in such proportions, and at such Times, as the Trust shall think proper, *viz.*

A Pallias and Bolster and Blanket for Bedding,
A Frock and Trowsers of Lintsey-Woolsey,
A Shirt and Frock and Trowsers of Oznabrigs,
A pair of Shoes from *England*,
And two pair of Country Shoes.
} for Cloathing.

And 200 Pounds of Meat,
And 342 Pounds of Rice, Pease, or Indian Corn,
} for Food for a Year.

The Expence of which Passage, Cloathing and Provisions, is to be Re-paid the Trustees by the Master, within the Third Year from their Embarkation from *England*.

And to each Man Servant and the Heirs Male of his Body for ever, after the Expiration of his Service, upon a Certificate from his Master of his having Served well, will be granted Twenty Acres of Land, under such Rents and Agreements, as shall have been then last Granted to any other Man Servant in like Circumstances.

Sign'd by Order of the Common Council of the said Trustees, for Establishing the Colony of *Georgia* in *America*, this Second Day of *July*, 1742.

Benj. Martyn, Secretary.

Number 4

TO such Persons who can carry Ten men Servants, and settle with them in *Georgia*, at their own Expence, and whose Characters the Trustees, upon Enquiry, shall approve of, will be granted Five Hundred Acres of land in Tail Male, and descend to the Heirs Male of their Bodies for ever, under the Yearly Rents of *Twenty Shillings* Sterling Money for every Hundred Acres, for the Support of the Colony, the Payment of which is not to commence until Ten Years after the Grant.

And the Land is so granted upon the following Conditions and Convenants,

That such Persons do pay the Rent reserved as the same shall become due, and no Part to be unpaid for six Months after due.

That they within a Month of the Grant shall register the same. or a Memorial thereof with the Auditor of the Plantations.

That they within Twelve Months from the Grant, shall go to and arrive in *Georgia*, with Ten able Bodied Men Servants being each of the Age of Twenty Years and upwards.

That they shall abide in *Georgia* with such Men Servants Three Years from the Registring the Grant there, Building their Houses and Cultivating their Lands.

That they shall Clear and Cultivate within Ten Years from the Grant Two Hundred Acres of Land, part of the said Five Hundred Acres, and Plant Two Thousand white Mulberry-Trees or Plants thereupon, and on every Hundred of the other Three Hundred Acres, One Thousand White Mulberry-Trees or Plants when Cleared, and preserve the same Quantity from time to time thereupon, the Trustees obliging themselves to furnish the Plants.

That they do not Alienate the said Five Hundred Acres of Land or any part thereof for any Term of Years, or any Estate or Interest in the same, to any Person or Persons without special Leave.

That they do not make Pot-ash in Partnership without Leave, but may make it themselves not in Partnership.

On the Determination of the Estate in Tail Male the Land to Revert to the Trust.

That they shall not depart the said Province without Licence.

All Forfeitures for Non-Residence, High Treason, Felonies *&c.* are to the Trustees for the Use and Benefit of the Colony.

If any part of the said Five Hundred Acres of Land shall not be Cultivated, Planted, Cleared and Fenced round about with Worm-Fence or Pales Six Feet high, within Eighteen Years from the Grant, all and every such part shall Revert to the Trust, and the Grant as to such Part be void.

And the Common Council of the Trust at the Expirations of the Terms such Men Servants shall be severally bound for, (being none less than Four Years) when requested by the Grantee, will Grant to each of such Men Servants Twenty Acres of land in Tail Male, under such Rents, Conditions, Limitations and Agreements, as shall have been then last Granted to any Others Men Servants in like Circumstance.

When the Land Reverts to the Trust on the Determination of the Estate in Tail Male, it is to be Granted again to such Person as the Common Council of the Trust shall think most for the Advantage of the Colony, and the Trust will have a special Regard to the Daughters of such who have made improvements on their Lots, not already provided for by having Married or Marrying Persons in Possession or intitled to Lands in the Province of *Georgia* in Possession or Remainder.

And the Wives of such Persons in case they should survive their Husbands, are, during their Lives, intitled to the Mansion House

and one half of the Lands Improved by their Husbands, that is to say, inclosed with a Fence Six Feet high.

Negroes and Rum are Prohibited to be used in the said Province, and Trade with the *Indians* unless Licensed.

Number 5.

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Humble Memorial and Representation of the State and Condition of Your Majesty's Province of South-Carolina, *from the General Assembly of the said Province.*

YOUR Majesty's most Dutiful Subjects of this Province, having often felt with Hearts full of Gratitude, the many Signal Instances of your most Sacred Majesty's peculiar Favour and Protection, to those Distant Parts of your Dominions, and especially those late Proofs of your Majesty's most Gracious and Benign Care, so wisely calculated for the Preservation of this your Majesty's Frontier Province on the Continent of *America*, by your Royal Charter to the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of *Georgia*, and your Great Goodness so Timely applied, for the promoting the Settlement of the *Swiss* at *Purrysburgh*; Encouraged by such views of your Majesty's Wise and Paternal Care, extended to your Remotest Subjects, and Excited by the Duty we owe to your most Sacred Majesty, to be always Watchful for the Support and Security of your Majesty's Interest, especially at this very critical Conjuncture, when the Flame of a War breaking out in *Europe*, may very speedily be lighted here in this your Majesty's Frontier Province, which, in Situation, is known to be of the utmost Importance to the General Trade and Traffick in *America:* We therefore your Majesty's most faithful Governor, Council and Commons, convened in your Majesty's Province of *South-Carolina*, crave Leave with great Humility to Represent to your Majesty the present State and Condition of this your Province, and how greatly it stands in need of your Majesty's Gracious and Timely Succour in case of a War, to Assist our Defence against the *French* and *Spaniards*, or any other Enemies to your Majesty's Dominions, as well as against the many Nations of Savages which so nearly Threaten the Safety of your Majesty's Subjects.

The Province of *South-Carolina*, and the new Colony of *Georgia* are the Southern Frontiers of all your Majesty's Dominions on the Continent of *America*, to the South and South-West of which is Situated the strong Castle of *St. Augustine*, Garrison'd by Four Hundred *Spaniards*, who have several Nations of *Indians* under their Subjection, besides several other small Settlements and Garrisons, some of which are not Eighty Miles Distant from the

Colony of *Georgia*. To the South-West and West of us the *French* have erected a considerable Town near Fort *Thoulouse* on the *Moville*-River, and several other Forts and Garrisons, some not above Three Hundred Miles distant from our Settlements: and at *New-Orleans* on the *Mississippi* River, since her late Majesty Queen *Anne's* War they have exceedingly increased their Strength and Traffick, and have now many Forts and Garrisons on both sides of that great River for several Hundred Miles up the same; and since his most Christian Majesty has taken out of the *Mississippi* Company, the Government of that Country into his own Hands, the *French* Natives in *Canada*, come daily down in Shoals to settle all along that River, where many Regular Forces have of late been sent over by the King to Strengthen the Garrisons in those Places, and according to our best and latest Advices, they have Five Hundred Men in Pay, constantly employed as Wood-Rangers, to keep their Neighbouring *Indians* in Subjection, and to prevent the distant ones from Disturbing the Settlements; which Management of the *French* has so well succeeded, that we are now very well assured they have wholly now in their Possession and under their Influence, the several numerous Nations of *Indians* that are Situate near the *Mississippi* River, one of which called the *Choctaws* by estimation consits of about Five Thousand Fighting Men, and who were always deemed a very Warlike Nation, lies on this side the River not above Four Hundred Miles distant from our Out-settlements, among whom, as well as several other Nations of *Indians*, many *French Europeans* have been sent to settle, whom the Priests and Missionaries among them encourage to take *Indian* Wives, and use divers other alluring Methods to Attach the *Indians* the better to the *French* Alliance, by which Means the *French* are become thoroughly acquainted with the *Indian* Way, Warring and Living in the Woods, and have now a great Number of White Men among them, able to perform a long March with an Army of *Indians* upon any Expedition.

We further beg leave to inform your Majesty, that if the Measures of *France* should provoke your Majesty to a State of Hostility against it in *Europe*, we have great reason to expect an Invasion will be here made upon your Majesty's Subjects by the *French* and *Indians* from the *Mississippi* Settlements: They have already paved a Way for a Design of that Nature, by Erecting a Fort called the *Albama* Fort, alias *Fort Lewis*, in the middle of the upper *Creek Indians*, upon a Navigable River leading to *Moville*, which they have kept well Garrisoned and Mounted with Fourteen Pieces of Cannon, and have lately been prevented from erecting a Second nearer to us on that Quarter. The *Creeks* are a Nation very Bold, Active and Daring, consisting of about Thirteen Hundred Fighting Men (and not above One Hundred

and Fifty Miles distant from the *Choctaws*) whom, though we heretofore have Traded with, claimed and held in our Alliance, yet the *French* on Account of that Fort and a superiour ability to make them Liberal Presents, have been for some time striving to draw them over to their Interest, and have Succeeded with some of the Towns of the *Creeks;* which, if they can be Secured in your Majesty's Interest, are the only Nation which your Majesty's Subjects here can depend upon as the best Barrier against any Attempts either of the *French* or their Confedrate *Indians*.

We most Humbly pray Leave farther to inform your Majesty, that the *French* at *Moville* perceiving that they could not gain the *Indians* to their Interest, without buying their Deer-Skins (which is the only Commodity the *Indians* have to purchase Necessaries with) and the *French* not being able to dispose of those Skins by reason of their having no Vend for them in *Old France*, they have found Means to incourage Vessels from hence, *New-York*, and other Places (which are not Prohibited by the Acts of Trade) to Truck those Skins with them for *Indian* Trading Goods, especially the *British* Woollen Manufactures, which the *French* dispose of to the *Creeks* and *Choctaws*, and other *Indians*, by which Means the *Indians* are much more Alienated from our Interest, and on every Occasion object to us that the *French* can supply them with Strouds and Blankets as well as the *English*, which would have the contrary Effect if they were wholly supplied with those Commodities by your Majesty's Subjects Trading with them. If a Stop were therefore put to that pernicious Trade with the *French*, the *Creek Indians* chief Dependance would be on this Government, and that of *Georgia*, to supply them with Goods; by which Means great Part of the *Choctaws*, living next the *Creeks*, would see the Advantage the *Creek Indians* enjoyed by having *British* Woollen Manufactures wholly from your Majesty's Subjects, and thereby be invited in a short Time to Enter into a Treaty of Commerce with us, which they have lately made some Offers for, and which, if Effected, will soon lessen the Interest of the *French* with those *Indians*, and by Degrees Attach them to that of your Majesty.

The only Expedient we can propose to Recover and Confirm that Nation to your Majesty's Interest, is by speedily making them Presents to withdraw them from the *French* Alliance, and by Building some Forts among them your Majesty may be put in such a Situation, that on the first Notice of Hostilities with the *French*, your Majesty may be able at once to reduce the *Albama* Fort, and we may then stand against the *French* and their *Indians*, which, if not timely prepared for before a War breaks out, we have too much Reason to Fear we may be soon over-run by the united strength of the *French*, the *Creeks* and *Choctaws*, with many other Nations of their *Indians* Allies: For, should the

Creeks become wholly Enemies, who are well acquainted with all our Settlements, we probably should also be soon Deserted by the *Cherokees*, and a few others, small Tribes of *Indians*, who, for the sake of our Booty, would readily join to make us a Prey to the *French* and *Savages*. Ever since the late *Indian* War the Offences given us then by the *Creeks* have made that Nation very Jealous of your Majesty's Subjects of this Province. We have therefore concerted Measures with the Honourable *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; who, being at the Head of a new Colony, will (we hope) be Successful for your Majesty's Interest amongst that People. He has already by Presents Attached the Lower *Creeks* to your Majesty, and has laudably undertaken to endeavour the fixing a Garrison among the Upper *Creeks*, the Expence of which is already in part provided for in this Session of the General Assembly of this Province: We hope therefore to prevent the *French* from Encroaching farther on your Majesty's Territories, until your Majesty is graciously pleased further to Strengthen and Secure the same.

We find the *Cherokee* Nation has lately become very Insolent to your Majesty's Subjects Trading among them, notwithstanding the many Favours the Chiefs of that Nation received from your Majesty in *Great-Britain*, besides a considerable Expence which your Majesty's Subjects of this Province have been at in making them Presents, which inclines us to believe that the *French* by their *Indians* have been tampering with them. We therefore beg leave to inform your Majesty, that the Building and Mounting some Forts likewise among the *Cherokees*, and making them Presents will be highly necessary to keep them steady in their Duty to your Majesty, lest the *French* may prevail in Seducing that Nation, which they may the more readily be inclined to from the Prospect of getting considerable Plunder in Slaves, Cattle, *&c.* Commodities which they very well know they have among us, several other Forts will be indispensably necessary, to be a cover to your Majesty's Subjects settled backwards in this Province, as also to those of the Colony of *Georgia*, both which in Length are very extensive; for tho' the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of *Georgia*, by a particular Scheme of good Management Painfully Conducted by the Gentleman engaged here in that Charitable Enterprize, has put that small part of the Colony, which he has not yet been able to establish, in a Tenable Condition against the *Spaniards* of *Florida* which lie to the Southward; yet the back Exposition of those Colonies to the vast Number of *French* and *Indians* which border on the Westward, must, in case of a War, cry greatly aloud for your Majesty's Gracious and Timely Succour. The Expence of our Safety on such an Occasion, we must, with all Humility, acquaint your Majesty, either for Men or Money, can never be Effected by your Majesty's Subjects of this

Province, who, in conjunction with *Georgia*, do not in the whole amount to more than Three Thousand Five Hundred Men, which Compose the Militia and wholly consist of Planters, Tradesmen and other Men of Business.

Besides the many Dangers which by Land we are exposed to from so many Enemies that lie on the back of us; we further beg leave to represent to your Majesty, the Defenceless Condition of our Ports and Harbours, were any Enemies of your Majesty's Dominions may very easily by Sea Invade us, there being no Fortifications capable of making much Resistence. Those in *Charles-Town* Harbour are now in a very ruinous Condition, occasioned by the late violent Storms and Hurricanes which already cost this Country a great deal of Money, and now requires several Thousands of Pounds to Repair the old and Build new ones, to Mount the Ordnance which your Majesty was graciously Pleased to send us, which, with great Concern, we must inform your Majesty we have not yet been able to accomplish, being lately obliged for the Defence and Support of this your Majesty's Province and Government, to Raise, by a Tax on the Inhabitants, a Supply of above *Forty Thousand Pounds* Paper Currency *per Annum*, which is a considerable deal more than a Third Part of all the Currency among us; a Charge which your Majesty's Subjects of this Province are but barely able to Sustain. Since your Majesty's Royal Instruction to your Majesty's Governour here, an intire Stop has been put to the Duties which before accrued from *European* Goods Imported; and if a War should happen, or any thing extraordinary, to be farther Expensive here, we should be under the utmost Difficulties to provide additionally for the same, lest an Increase of Taxes with an Apprehension of Danger, should drive away many of our present Inhabitants, as well as Discourage others from coming here to Settle for the Defence and Improvement of your Majesty's Province, there being several daily moving with their Families and Effects to *North-Carolina*, were there are no such Fears and Burdens.

We must therefore beg leave to inform your Majesty, that, amidst our other perilous Circumstances, we are Subject to many Intestine Dangers from the great Number of Negroes that are now among us, who amount at least to Twenty Two Thousand Persons, and are Three to One of all your Majesty's White Subjects in this Province. Insurrections against us have been often Attempted, and would at any Time prove very Fatal if the *French* should instigate them, by artfully giving them an Expectation of Freedom. In such a Situation we most humbly Crave leave to acquaint your Majesty, that even the present ordinary Expences necessary for the Care and Support of this your Majesty's Province and Government, cannot be provided for by your Majesty's Subjects of this Province, without your Majesty's gracious Pleasure to Con-

tinue those Laws for Establishing the Negroes and other Duties for Seven Years, and for appropriating the same, which now lie before your Majesty for your Royal Assent and Approbation; and the further Expences that will be requisite for the Erecting some Forts and Establishing Garrisons in the several necessary Places, so as to form a Barrier for the Security of this your Majesty's Province, we most humbly Submit to your Majesty.

Your Majesty's Subjects of this Province, with fullnes of Zeal, Duty and Affection to your most Gracious and Sacred Majesty, are so highly sensible of the great Importance of this Province to the *French*, that we must conceive it more than probable, if a War should happen, they will use all Endeavours to bring this Country under their Subjection; they would be thereby Enabled to Support their Sugar Islands with all sorts of Provisions and Lumber by an easy Navigation, which to our great Advantage is not so Practicable from the present *French* Colonies, besides the facility of gaining then to their Interest most of the Indian Trade on the Northern Continent; they might then easily unite the *Canadees* and *Choctaws* with the many other Nations of *Indians* which are now in their Interest. And the several Ports and Harbours of *Carolina* and *Georgia* which now enable your Majesty to be absolute Master of the Passage thro' the Gulph of *Florida*, and to impede, at your Pleasure, the Transportation home of the *Spanish* Treasure, would then prove so many Convenient Harbours for your Majesty's Enemies, by their Privateers or Ships of War to annoy a great Part of the *British* Trade to *America*, as well as that which is carried on through the Gulph from *Jamaica;* besides the Loss which *Great-Britain* must feel in so considerable a Part of it's Navigation, as well as the Exports of Masts, Pitch, Tar and Turpentine, which, without any Dependance on the Nothern Parts of *Europe*, are from hence plentifully supplied for the Use of the *British* Shipping.

This is the present State and Condition of your Majesty's Province of *South-Carolina*, utterly incapable of finding Funds sufficient for the Defence of this Wide Frontier, and so destitute of White Men, that even Money itself cannot here raise a sufficient Body of them.

With all Humility we therefore beg Leave to lay ourselves at the Feet of your Majesty, humbly imploring your Majesty's most gracious Care in the Extremities we should be reduced to on the breaking out of a War; and that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to extend your Protection to us, as your Majesty, in your great Wisdom, shall think proper.

Robert Johnson,

In the Council-Chamber of *South-Carolina*, 9th *April*, 1734.

Tho. Broughton, President
Paul Jenys, Speaker.

Number 6.

THomas *Pearce*, aged Forty Years and upwards, of the *Dover* Man of War, Mariner, having been at *Georgia* in *America*, on board the *Peter and James*, Captain *George Dymond*, in the Year One Thousand Seven hundred and Thirty-five; and, from that Ship, on board the *Hawk* Sloop, Stationed at *Georgia* until the Beginning of the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-nine; and having Sounded every Inlet, from the Sea all along the Coast of *Georgia*, from *Jekyll* Sound to *Tybee* Sound, maketh Oath and saith, That the said Coast Four Leagues from the Land, is all even Ground, not less than Seven or Eight Fathom Water, and any Ship keeping in that Depth of Water may Steer along the same with the greatest Safety, and Anchor if they have occasion: That on the Bar at *Jekyll* there is at least Thirteen Feet and a half, at low Water, and at High Spring Tides Twenty-four Feet; and on the Bar at *Tybee* there is at least Sixteen Feet and a half at low Water, and at High Water Spring Tides Twenty-five Feet and a half; and the Difference between the Spring and Niep Tides is generally between Three and Four Feet.

And this Deponent farther saith, That he is well assured, and would undertake, by Sounding with a Boat, even at Niep Tides, to carry in Forty-Gun Ships over either of the said Bars; and saith, That he hath seen in the Sound at *St. Simon's*, from *Jekyll* Bar, Ten Sail of Ships at one Time, and that Ten or Twelve Forty Gun Ships may safely ride there; but behind *Jekyll* Island there is Water and Room enough for Shipping for Ten Miles up; and that the Sound at *Tybee* is large enough to hold with Safety Seven or Eight Forty Gun Ships.

And this Deponent farther saith, That Ships in *Jekyll* Sound may in Twenty-four Hours, from the Bar, run out into the Gulf-Stream of *Florida*, through which Stream the Spanish Galleons (when not passing the Winward Passage) always come.

Thomas Pearce.

Number 7.

To the KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Memorial of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of *Georgia in America.*

Humbly Sheweth,

THat they being intrusted by your Majesty with the Care of the Colony of *Georgia*, which was formerly Part of your Majesty's Province of *South-Carolina*, and your Majesty's Colony of *Georgia* being very much exposed to the Power of

the *Spaniards*, and become an object of their Envy, by having valuable Ports upon the homeward Passage from the *Spanish West-Indies*, and the *Spaniards* having increased their Forces in the Neighbourhood thereof; The Trustees, in consequence of the great Trust reposed in them by your Majesty, find themselves obliged, humbly to lay before your Majesty, their Inability sufficiently to Protect your Majesty's Subjects settled in *Georgia*, under the Encouragement of your Majesty's Charter, against this late Increase of Forces, and therefore become humble Suppliants to your Majesty, on the Behalf of your Subjects settled in the Province of *Georgia*, that your Majesty would be pleased to take their Preservation into your Royal Consideration, that, by a necessary Supply of Forces, the Province may be Protected against the great Dangers that seem immediately to Threaten it.

All which is most humbly submitted to your Majesty's great Wisdom.

Signed by Order of the Trustees, this 10*th* Day of *August*, 1737.

Benj. Martyn, Secretary.

Number 8.

To the Honourable the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of *Georgia* in *America*.

May it please your Honours,

WE, whose Names are under-written, being all Settlers, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of *Georgia*, and being sensible of the great Pains and Care exerted by you, in endeavouring to settle this Colony, since it has been under your Protection and Management, do unanimously join to lay before you, with the utmost Regret, the following Particulars.

But, in the first Place, we must beg Leave to observe, That it has afforded us a great deal of Concern and Uneasiness, that former Representations, made to you, of the same Nature, have not been thought worthy of a due Consideration, nor even of an Answer. We have most of us settled in this Colony, in pursuance of a Description and Recommendation of it, by you, in *Britain*; and from the Experience of residing here several Years, do find, that it is impossible the Measures hitherto laid down for making it a Colony can succeed. None of all those who have planted their Lands, have been able to raise sufficient Produce to maintain their Families, in Bread-kind only, even though as much Application and Industry have been exerted to bring it about, as could be done by Men engaged in an Affair, in which they believe

the Welfare of themselves and Posterity so much depended, and which they imagine must require more than ordinary Pains to make it succeed; so that by the accumulated Expences, every Year, of Provisions, Cloathing, Medicines, *&c.* for themselves, Families, and Servants, several of them have expended all their Money, nay, even run considerably in Debt, and so been obliged to leave off Planting, and making further Improvements; and those who continue are daily exhausting more and more of their Money, and some daily increasing their Debts, without a Possibility of being reimburs'd, according to the present Constitution. This being now the General State of the Colony, it must be obvious, that People cannot subsist by their Land according to their present Establishment, and this being a Truth resulting from Trial, Practice, and Experience, cannot be contradicted by any Theorical Scheme or Reasoning. The Land then, according to the present Constitution, not being able to maintain the Settlers here, they must unavoidably have recourse to, and depend upon, Trade; but to our woeful Experience likewise, the same Causes that prevent the first, obstruct the latter; for though the Situation of this Place is exceeding well adapted for Trade, and, if it were encouraged, might be much more improved by the Inhabitants, yet the Difficulties and Restrictions which we hitherto have and at present do labour under, debar us of that Advantage. Timber is the only Thing we have here which we can Export, and notwithstanding we are obliged to fall it in planting our Land, yet we cannot manufacture it fit for a Foreign Market, but at double the Expence of other Colonies; as for Instance the River of *May*, which is but Twenty Miles from us, with the Allowance of Negroes, load Vessels with that Commodity at one half of the Price that we can do; and what should induce Persons to bring Ships here, when they can be loaded with one Half of the Expence so near us? Therefore the Timber on the Land is only a continual Charge to the Possessors of it, though of very great Service in all the Northern Colonies, where Negroes are allowed, and consequently Labour cheap. We do not in the least doubt, but that in Time Silk and Wine may be produced here, particularly the former; but since the Cultivation of Lands with White Servants only cannot raise Provision for our Families, as before mentioned, therefore it is likewise impossible to carry on these Manufactures according to the present Constitution. It is very well known that *Carolina* can raise every thing that this Colony can, and they having their Labour so much cheaper, will always ruin our Market, unless we are in some measure on a Footing with them; and as in both, the Land is worn out in Four or Five Years, and then fit for nothing but Pasture, we must be always at a great deal more Expence than they in clearing new Land for

Planting. The Importation of Necessaries for Life comes to us at the most extravagant Rate, Merchants in general, especially of *England*, not being willing to supply the Settlers with Goods upon Commission, because no Person here can make them any Security of their Lands and Improvements, as is very often practised in other Places, to promote Trade, when some of the Employer's Money is laid out in necessary Buildings and Improvements, fitted for the Trade intended, without which it cannot be carried on. The Benefit of the Importation, therefore, is to all transient Persons who do not lay out any Money amongst us, but on the contrary carry every Penny out of the Place: And the chief Reason for their enhancing the Price, is, because they cannot get any Goods here, either on Freight or Purchase, for another Market. If the Advantage accruing from Importation centered in the Inhabitants, the Profit thereof would naturally circulate amongst us, and be laid out in Improvements in the Colony. Your Honors, we imagine, are not insensible of the Numbers that have left this Province, not being able to support themselves any longer, and those still remaining, who have Money of their own, and Credit with their Friends, have laid out most of the former in Improvements, and lost the latter for doing it on such precarious Titles; and upon account of the present Establishment, not above Two or Three Persons, except those brought on Charity, and Servants sent by you, have come here for the Space of Two Years past, either to settle Land or encourage Trade, neither do we hear of any such likely to come, until we are on better Terms.

It is true, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to Grant a Regiment for the Defence of this Province, and the neighbouring Colony, which indeed will very much Assist us in Defending ourselves against all Enemies, but otherwise does not in the least contribute to our Support; for all that part of their Pay which is expended here, is laid out with Transient People, and our Neighbours of *Carolina*, who are capable to supply them with Provisions and other Necessaries at a moderate Price, which we, as before observed, are not at all capable to do, upon the present Establishment: This being our present Condition it is obvious what the Consequences must be.

But we, for our parts, having intirely relied on, and confided in, your good Intentions, believing you would Redress our Grievances that should appear, and now, by our long Experience from Industry and continual Application to Improvement of Land here, do find it impossible to pursue it, or subsist ourselves any longer, according to the present nature of the Constitution: And likewise believing you will agree to those Measures which are found by Experience, capable to make this Colony succeed, and to promote

which we have consumed our Money, Time and Labour; we do, from a sincere and true Regard to it's Welfare, and in Duty both to you and ourselves, beg leave to lay before your immediate Consideration, the Two following chief Causes of these our present Misfortunes, and this deplorable State of the Colony; and which, we are certain, if Granted, would be an infallible Remedy for both.

1. The want of a Free Title or Fee Simple to our Lands, which, if Granted, would occasion great Numbers of new Settlers to come among us, and likewise encourage those who remain here, chearfully to proceed in making further Improvements, as well to retrieve their sunk Fortunes, as to make Provision for their Posterity.

2. The want and use of Negroes with proper Limitations, which, if Granted, would both induce great Numbers of White People to come here, and also render us Capable to subsist ourselves by raising Provisions upon our Lands, until we could make some Produce of it for Export, and in some measure to balance our Importation. We are very sensible of the Inconveniences and Mischiefs that have already, and do daily arise from an unlimited use of Negroes; but we are as sensible that these might be prevented by a due Limitation, such as, so many to each White Man, or so many to such a Quantity of Land, or in any other Manner which your Honours shall think most proper. By Granting us, Gentlemen, these Two particulars, and such other Privileges as his Majesty's most dutiful Subjects in *America* enjoy, you will not only prevent our impending Ruin, but we are fully satisfied, also, will soon make this the most flourishing Colony possessed by his Majesty in *America*, and your Memories will be perpetuated to all future Ages, our latest Posterity sounding your Praises as their first Founders, Patrons and Guardians: But if, by Denying us those Privileges, we ourselves and Families are not only Ruined, but even our Posterities likewise, you will always be mentioned as the Cause and Authors of all their Misfortunes and Calamities; which we hope will never happen.

We are, with all due Respect,
Your Honours most Dutiful,
and Obedient Servants,

Henry Parker,
Robert † Gilbert, his mark.
Thomas Christie,
John Fallowfield,
John Brownfield,
William Woodroofe,
Pat. Tailfer,
Sam. Mercer,
Robert Williams,
Patrick Graham,
Da. Douglas,
Tho. Baillie,
Hugh Anderson,
James Carwells,

And. Grant,
Jos. Fitzwalter.
Elisha Forster.
Walter Fox,
William Ewen.
J. Amoury,
Ja. Houston,
James Williams,
Edward Jenkins,
Thomas Omaston,
Joseph Wardrop,
George Buncle,
Adrian Loyer,
P. Joubert,
John Burton,
Robert Hows,
Wm. † *Maiers,* his mark.
Thomas Salter,
James Baillow,
James Anderson.
John Seillie,
William Starfickett.
Petre Baillou,
Peter Emory,
Henry Lloyd,
Wm. Elbert,
John Smith,
Wm. Calvert,
Stephen Marrauld
Jacob Mathews,
Isaac Young,
Robert Hainks,
Archibald Glen,
Tho. Neale,
Stephen † *Terien,* his mark.
Sam. Ward,
James † *Smith,* his mark.
Pierre Morel,
Stephen de Monford,
David Gainder,
James † *Chensac,* his mark.
James † *Landry,* his mark.
Simson † *Rouviere,* his mark.
Louis Stamen,
Thomas Tripp,
Sam. Holmes.
John Lyndall.
William Parker,
John Graham.
James Papot,
John Penrose,
David Snook,
Edward Townshend.
John Desborough,
Andrew Duche,
James Galloway,
John Desborough, Junr.
Edward Bush,
Benj. Adams,
Charles Britain,
John Rae,
William Coltbred.
John Young,
Samuel Lacey,
Andrew Walker.
John Miller,
Richard Rogers,
Thomas Gantlet,
Richard Millechamp.
Isaac Young, Senr.
John Kelley,
Jos. Stanley,
Tho. † *Young,* his mark.
Thomas † *Cross,* his mark.
Richard Davis,
Thomas Wattle,
Thomas † *Baillie,* his mark.
James Corneck,
James Burnsides,
Hugh † *Frazer,* his mark.
Samuel Parker,
William Sterling,
Tho. Andrews,
George Gorsand,
John Stonchewer,
John Teasdeall,
Wm. † *Greenfield,* his mark.
Cha. † *Greenfield,* his mark.
Thomas † *Young,* his mark.
James † *Dormer,*
William Carter,
Henry † *Moulton,* his mark.

James Mure,
James Dean,
Don. Stewart,
Gille Becu,
Francis Brooks,
John Clarke,
Henry Green,
Jacob Wats,
Thomas Tibbett,
John Dudding,
George † *Bush*, his mark.
Peter † *Deshter*, his mark.
Henry Manley, his mark.
Head Gardiner,
Kenedy O Brien.

Savannah in *Georgia*, December 9, 1738.

NOVA BRITANNIA:

OFFERING MOST

Excellent fruites by Planting

IN VIRGINIA.

Exciting all such as be well

affected to further the same.

LONDON,

Printed for SAMVEL MACHAM, and are to be sold at his Shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the Signe of the Bul-head.

1609.

P. Force, *Washington*, 1835.

To the Right Worshipfull Sir THOMAS SMITH, *of London*, Knight of one of his Maiesties Councell for VIRGINIA, and Treasurer for the Colonie, and Gouernour of the Companies of the MOSCOVIA and East INDIA Merchants, Peace, health, and happinesse in CHRIST.

Right worshipfull Sir,

FORASMUCH as I haue alwayes obserued your honest zeale to God, accompanied with so excellent carriage and resolution, in actions of best consequence, I cannot but discouer vnto you for your further encouragement, the summe of a priuate speech or discourse, touching our plantation in *Virginia*, vttered not long since in *London*,

where some few aduenturers
(well affecting the enterprise)
being met together touching
their intended proiect, one
among the rest stood
vp and began to re-
late (in effect)
as followeth.

R. I.

NOVA BRITANNIA.

Offering most excellent fruites *by Planting in* VIRGINIA.

WHereas in our last meeting and conference the other day, obseruing your sufficient reasons answering all obiections, and your cõstant resolution to go on in our Plantation, they gaue me so good content and satisfaction, that I am driuen against my selfe, to confesse mine own error in standing out so long, whereby many of you (my friends) were engaged in the businesse before mée, at whose often instigations I was but little moued, and lightly estéemed of it till being in place, where obseruing the wise and prudent spéech, of a worthy Gentleman, (well knowne to you all) a most painful mannager of such publike affayres within this Cittie, which moued so effectually, touching the publike vtilitie of this noble enterprise, that withholding no longer, I yéelded my money and endeauours as others did to aduance the same, and now vpon more aduised consideration, I must néedes say I neuer accompted my poore meanes employed to better purpose, then (by Gods helpe) the successe of this may bee, and therefore I cannot but deliuer (if you please to heare) what I rudely conceiue of a suddaine.

There are diuers monuments already publisht in Print to the world, manifesting and shewing, that the Coasts and parts of *Virginia* haue beene long since discouered, peopled and possessed by many English, both men, women, and children, the naturall subiects of our late Queene *Elizabeth*, of famous memorie, conducted and left there at sundrie times. And that the same footing and possession is there kept and possessed by the same English, or by their seede and of-spring, without any interruption or inuasion, either of the Sauages (the natiues of the countrie) or of any other Prince or people (for ought wee heare or know) to this day, which argueth sufficiently to vs (and it is true) that ouer those English and Indian people, no Christian King or Prince (other then *James* our Soueraigne Lord and King) ought to haue rule or Dominion, or can by possession, conquest or inheritance, truely claime or make iust title to those Territories,

or to any part thereof, except it bee (as wee heare of late) that a challenge is laid to all, by vertue of a Donation from *Alexander* the first Pope of Rome, wherein (they say) is giuen all the West Indies, including *Florida* and *Virginia*, with all America, and whatsoeuer Ilands adiacent.

But what is this to vs? they are blind indeede that stumble here; it is much like that great donation of *Constantine* whereby the Pope himselfe doeth hold and claime the Cittie of Rome, and all the Westerne Empire, a thing that so crosseth all Histories of truth, and sound Antiquitie, that by the apt resemblance of those two Donations, the whole West Empire, from a temporall Prince to the Pope, and the whole West Indies, from the Pope to a temporall Prince. I doe verily gesse they be neere of kinne, they are so like each other, the one an olde tale vaine and fabulous, the other a new toy most idle and ridiculous.

When the flatterers of *Cambises* King of Persia, could find no law to warrant his immoderate lust and incestuous marriage with his owne daughter, yet they told him of another law which they had found, whereby the Kings of Persia might doe what they listed: if in these cases likewise there be a law that the Pope may doe what he list, let them that list obey him, for we beleeue not in him.

Letting goe (therefore) these legendarie fables, which howsoeuer some men holde authenticke as their Creede, yet are they in the iudgement of wise men, things of no value, nor doe import to vs, any cause of doubt or feare, but that we goe on in our honest enterprise, and lawfull purpose now in hand, that (as wee hope) his Maiestie mindeth not the relinquishing his estate and enterest, deriued to him by right of succession, from his immediate predecessor, but for the further planting and succouring our old Colony, hath giuen vs leaue to make new supplies, which wee lately sent thither vnder the conduct of *Christopher Newport* Captaine: And hath granted many gratious priuiledges, vnder the great Seale, to vs and to our Heirs for euer, that will aduenture or plant in the said plantation: So I wish and intreat all well affected subiects, some in their persons, others in their purses, cheerefully to aduenture, and ioyntly take in hand this high and acceptable worke, tending to aduance and spread the kingdome of God, and the knowledge of the truth, among so many millions of men and women, Sauage and blind, that neuer yet saw the true light shine before their eyes, to enlighten their minds and comfort their soules, as also for the honor of our King, and enlarging of his kingdome, and for preseruation and defence of that small number our friends and countrimen already planted,

least for want of more supplies we become a scorne to the world subiecting our former aduentures to apparent spoile and hazard, and our people (as a prey) to be sackt and puld out of possession, as were the French out of *Noua Francia*, not many yeares ago, and which is the lest and last respect (yet vsuallie preferred) for the singular good and benefite that will vndoubtedly arise to this whole nation, and to euerie one of vs in particular, that will aduenture therein, as by true relation (God willing) I shall make it manifestly appeare to all.

It is knowne to the world, and cannot bee forgotten, that the dayes and raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, brought forth the highest degree of wealth, happinesse and honour, that euer England had before her time, whereof to let passe the particular praises, as impertinent to my purpose, I doe onely call to minde our Royall Fleetes and Marchants Shippes, (the Jewels of our land) our excellent nauigators, and admirable voyages, as into all parts and round about the Globe with good successe, to the high fame and glorie of our Nation, so especially their aime and course was most directed to the new found world, to the maine land and infinite Ilands of the West Indies, intending to discouer with what conuenience to Plant and settle English Colonies, in places not already possessed and inhabited by subiects of other Christian Princes, wherein after many tedious and perilous aduentures, howsoeuer strange seas and miserable famine, had deuoured and distressed shipps and men of inestimable value, yet were not the remnant escaping, swallowed vp of despaire, nor their hart and spirits daunted with feare, but daily armed afresh with inuincible courage, and greater resolution (scorning to sit downe by their losses) made newe attempts, not induring to looke on whilst so huge and spacious countries (the fourth part of the world) and the greatest and wealthiest part of all the rest, should remain a wilderness, subiect (for the most part) but to wild beasts and fowles of the ayre, and to sauage people, which haue no Christian, nor ciuill vse of any thing, and that the subiects onely of one Prince *Christian*, which but within the memorie of man began first to creepe vpon the face of those Territories, and now by meanes of their remnants settled here and there, do therefore imagine the world to be theirs, shouldring out all other nations, accounting themselues Kings and Commanders, not onely in townes and places where they haue planted, but ouer all other partes of *America*, which containe sundrie vast and barbarous Regions, many of which (to this day) they neuer knew, nor did euer setle foote therein: which notwithstanding, if it were yeelded them as due, yet their strength and meanes farre inferiour to

their aspires, will neuer stretch to compasse or replenish the hundredth part thereof: and this we proued true not many yeares agoe, our Prince and theirs being then at open hostilitie, their best and chiefest residences were scattered with so poore and slender troups, that with handfuls of men (at sundry times) we ran thorow all, surprizing and sacking their strongest forts and townes in those parts, and might long since with ease, following and seconding our forces, haue set them to their stint.

But seeing we so passed by their dwellings, that in seating our selues, wee sought not to vnsettle them, but by Gods mercy, after many stormes, were brought to the Coast of another countrie, farre distant and remote from their habitations: why should any frowne or enuie at it, or if they doe, why should wee (neglecting so faire an opportunitie) faint or feare to enlarge our selues. Where is our force and auncient vigour? Doth our late reputation sleepe in the dust? No, no, let not the world deceiue it selfe, we still remaine the same, and vpon iust occasion giuen, we shall quickly shew it too: hauing now by Gods blessing, more meanes then euer heretofore, beeing strongly fenced where wee wonted to lie open: Our plant, we trust, is firmely rooted, our armes and limmes are strong, our branches faire, and much desire to spread themselues abroad.

But before I come to discribe this earthly Paradice, or to proue the points of my proposition mentioned before, you shall knowe, that the first discouery and actuall possession taken thereof was in the raigne and by the subiects of *Henry* the seuenth of England, at which time did *Spaine* also discouer, and by that right of discouery, doth retaine and holde their *Noua Hispania*, and all other their limmits vpon that Coast: But that we now intend to ground vpon is a more late Discouerie and actuall possession, taken in the name and right of *Queene Elizabeth*, in *Anno* 1584, the 13 of July, as it is truely set downe in the Booke of English Voyages, by sundry English Captaines and Gentlemen in that Voyage, whose names are recorded in that discourse (and many of which are yet liuing) whereof when her Maiestie had true information, shée named the Countrey *Virginia*, and did assigne to *Walter Raleigh* (then a Gentleman of worth) power and Authoritie to Plant forces and Colonies there, at his pleasure, who transported thither in *Anno* 1587, by the conduct of *Iohn White* chiefe Leader, aboue an hundred Men, Women, and Children at one time, and left them there to inhabite to this day: Notwithstanding, it is true indéede (as some may obiect.) It is now aboue twentie yéeres agoe since these things were done, and yet euer since in all this time, we neuer sawe or heard of

any good that hath come from thence, nor of any hope, that might encourage vs anew to engage our selues therein.

But let vs rightly weigh the reasons of it, and then iudge: Those hundred and vpwards, conducted thither by *Iohn White* and whose particular Names you may sée Recorded in the same Booke of Voyages, were left there, with intent and promise, to be supplied from England, with more companies and all necessaries, the next yéere following: in the meane time, they were to Plant and fortifie themselues in best manner they could, and to make a discouerie of such Minerals, and other merchandize, as the countrey should yéeld by nature. But as all good Actions haue their Crosses and their Bane attending on them, so had this: for that those which had the Managing of a new supply, being the next yéere sufficiently furnished to Sea for that ende, yet most vnnaturally, being Tainted with that common corruption of time, turned their head another way, and with greedie minds, betooke themselues wholly to hunt after Pillage vpon the Spanish Coast where spending their men, their time and prouisions, they were not able (béeing come and arriued at the port) to make vp into the land to visite and relieue their friends, but were forced to retire for England againe, whereby the edge of those aduenturers that set them foorth was so abated, that this most honourable enterprise so happily begunne, was by this last occasion most vnhappily ended, neither had our poore countri-men left there, any meanes from thence to visite vs, nor in all this time to giue vs any light of their owne estate: whereas then, if those beginnings had béene followed as they ought, and as by Gods helpe wée now entend, that countrey had long since become a most royall addition to the Crowne of England, and a very nursery and fountaine of much wealth and strength to this kingdome.

When *Christopher Columbus* (the first bewrayer of this new world) was to make his proffer where he liked best, hee chose *Henry* the seuenth of England, as in those dayes the most worthy, and best furnished for Nauigations, of all the Kings in Christendome: offering to inuest his Maiestie with the most pretious and richest vaines of the whole earth, neuer knowne before, as he did also the like to the Kings of Portugale and Spaine, who (as the story saith) for his poore apparell and simple lookes, and for the noueltie of his proposition, was of most men accounted a vaine foole, and vtterly reiected: saue that the Spanish better conceiuing then some others, beganne to entertaine and make vse of his skill, which within these hundred yeares, hath brought foorth those apparent fruits to the world as cannot be hidde. Their Territories enlarged, their Nauigations encreased, their

subiects enricht, and their superfluitie of coyne ouer-spreading all parts of the world, procures their Crowne to flourish, and highly commendeth the wisedome of Spaine: whose quicke apprehension and speedy addresse, preuented all other Princes: albeit (as you know) their greatness of minde arising together with their money and meanes, hath turmoiled all Christendome these fourtie yeares and more.

And this I but mention, to note the blind diffidence of our English natures, which laugh to scorne the name of *Virginia*, and all other new proiects, bee they neuer so probable, and will not beleeue till wee s'e the effects: as also to shew how capable men ought to bee, in things of great importance, aduisedly to take the first occasions. We reade of *Haniball*, when chasing home the Romanes to the gates of Rome, and neglecting then to scale the walles, could neuer after with all his strength and policies come neere the like aduantage: yet I must briefely tell you now, what I conceiue with ioy, that howsoeuer the businesse of this plantation hath beene formerly miscarried, yet it is now going on in better way, not enterprised by one or two priuate subiecst, who in their greatnesse of minde, sought to compasse that, which rather beseemed a mighty Prince, (such as ours) or the whole State to take in hand: for it is not vnknowen to you all, how many Noble men of Honourable mindes, how many worthy Knights, Merchants, and others of the best disposition, are now ioyned together in one Charter, to receiue equall priuiledges, according to their seueral aduentures: euery man engaging his purse, and some Noble-men, Knights and Gentlemen, intending to goe in their owne persons, which I did heare to protest and vow, against anie people, whomsoeuer shall any way seeke to entrappe or impeach our proceedings, an vtter reuenge vpon their bodies or goods, if they be to bee found vpon Sea or land: whereby we haue assured hope (God assisting vs) to be effectually able to make good against all, and in short time to bring to a most happy euent the thing we take in hand.

And now in discribing the naturall seate and disposition of the countrie it selfe: if I should say no more but with *Caleb* and *Joshua*, *The land which we haue searched out is a very good land, if the Lord loue vs, he will bring our people to it, and will giue it vs for a possession.* This were enough to you that are willing, but yet a little more in particular obserued, by the best Mappes and Printed discourses, and by conference of such as haue b'ene lately there and s'ene it, I thinke good to deliuer to satisfie others: First the Voyage is not long nor tedious, sixe W'ekes at ease will send vs thither, whereas sixe Moneths suffice

not to some other places, where wee Trade: our course and passage is thorow the great Ocean, where is no feare of Rockes or Flattes, nor subiect to the streights and restraint of forraine Princes, most Winds that blow, are apt and fit for vs, and none can hinder vs: when wee come to the Coast, there is continuall depth enough, with good Bottome for Anchor hold, and the Land is faire to fall with all, full of excellent good Harbours: the world affoords no better for Shippes of all burdens, many pleasant Ilands great and small affronting the Coast: Two goodly Riuers are discouered winding farre into the Maine, the one in the North part of the Land by our Westerne Colonie, Knights and Gentlemen of *Excester*, *Plymouth* and others: The other in the South part thereof by our Colonie of *London*: Upon which Riuer, being both broad, déepe and pleasant, abounding with store of fish, our Colony haue begun to fortify themselues, and haue built a towne, and named it (in honor of our King) *Iames* towne, fourescore miles within land, vpon the North side of the Riuer (as is *London* vpon the Riuer of *Thames*) from whence we haue discouered the same Riuer, one hundred myles further into the mayne Land, in the searching whereof, they were so ravisht with the admirable sweetnesse of the streame, and with the pleasant land trending along on either side, that their ioy excéeded and with great admiration they praised God.

The country it selfe is large and great assuredly, though as yet, no exact discouery can bee made of all. It is also commendable and hopefull euery way, the ayre and clymate most swéete and wholsome, much warmer then *England*, and very agréeable to our Natures: It is inhabited with wild and sauage people, that liue and lie vp and downe in troupes like heards of Deare in a Forrest: they haue no law but nature, their apparell skinnes of beasts, but most goe naked: the better sort haue houses, but poore ones, they have no Arts nor Science, yet they liue vnder superior command such as it is, they are generally very louing and gentle, and doe entertaine and relieue our people with great kindnesse: they are easy to be brought to good, and would fayne embrace a better condition: the land yeeldeth naturallie for the sustentation of man, aboundance of fish, both scale and shell: of land and water fowles, infinite store: of Deere, Kaine and Fallow, Stags, Coneys, and Hares, with many fruits and rootes good for meate.

There are valleyes and plaines streaming with sweete Springs, like veynes in a naturall bodie: there are hills and mountaines making a sensible proffer of hidden treasure, neuer yet searched: the land is full of mineralles, plentie of woods (the wants of

England) there are growing goodly Okes and Elmes, Beech and Birch, Spruce, Walnut, Cedar and Firre trees, in great aboundance, the soile is strong and lustie of its owne nature, and sendeth out naturally fruitfull Vines running vpon trees, and shrubbes: it yeeldeth also Rosin, Turpentine, Pitch and Tarre, Sassafras, Mulbery-trees and Silke-wormes, many Skinnes and rich furres, many sweete woodes, and Dyers woodes, and other costly dyes: plenty of Sturgion, Timber for Shipping, Mast, Plancke and Deale, Sope ashes, Cauiare, and what else we know not yet, because our daies are young. But of this that I haue said, if bare nature be so amiable in its naked kind, what may we hope, when Arte and Nature both shall ioyne, and striue together, to giue best content to man and beast? as now in handling the seuerall parts propounded, I shall shew in order as they lie.

For the first (if I forget not my selfe) how it may tend to aduance the kingdome of God, by reducing sauage people from their blind superstition to the light of Religion, when some obiect, wee seeke nothing lesse then the cause of God, beeing led on by our owne priuate ends, and secondly how we can warrant a supplantation of those Indians, or an inuasion into their right and possessions.

To the first we say, as many actions both good in themselues, and in their successe, haue béene performed with badde intents: so in this case, howsoeuer our naughtines of minde may sway very much, yet God may haue the honor, and his kingdome aduanced in the action done: but yet by the way, me thinks this obiection comes in due time, and doth well admonish vs, how to rectifie our hearts and ground our meditations before we begin: we doe generally applaud, and highly commend the goodness of the cause, and that it is such a profitable plough, as euery honest man ought to set his hand vnto, both in respect of God and the publike good, this is our generall voice, and we say truth, for so it is.

But wee must beware that under this pretence that bitter root of greedy gaine be not so settled in our harts, that béeing in a golden dreame, if it fall not out presently to our expectation, we slinke away with discontent, and draw our purses from the charge. If any shew this affection, I would wish his baseness of minde to be noted. What must be our direction then, no more but this: if thou dost once approue the worke, lay thy hand to it chéerfully, and withdraw it not till thy taske bee done, at all assayes and new supplies of money be not lagge, nor like a dull horse thats alwaies in the lash, for héere lies the poison of all good attempts, when as men without halling and pulling, will not be

drawne to performance, for by this, others are discouraged, the action lies vndone, and the first expence is lost: But are wee to looke for no gaine in the lewe of all aduentures? yes vndoubtedly, there is assured hope of gaine, as I will shew anon in due place, but look it be not chiefe in your thoughts, God that hath said by *Solomon*: *Cast thy bread vpon the waters, and after many daies thou shalt find it:* he will giue the blessing: And as for supplanting the sauages, we haue no such intent: Our intrusion into their possessions shall tend to their great good, and no way to their hurt, vnlesse as vnbridled beastes, they procure it to themselues: Wee purpose to proclaime and make it knowne to them all, by some publike interpretation that our comming thither is to plant our selues in their countrie: yet not to supplant and roote them out, but to bring them from their base condition to a farre better: First, in regard of God the Creator, and of Jesus Christ their Redeemer, if they will beléeue in him. And secondly, in respect of earthly blessings, whereof they haue now no comfortable vse, but in beastly brutish manner, with promise to defend them against all publike and priuate enemies. Wée can remember since *Don Ion Daquila* with his forces inuading *Ireland*, a noble ciuill kingdome, where all (except a few runagates) were setled in the truth of Religion, and liued by wholsome laws, vnder the milde government of Christian Kings and Princes, long before his grandsiers cradle: yet hée thought it no robberie to proclaime and publish to the world, that his comming thither, was to none other end, but to free their Nation from their bondage, and tyrannous subiection, and to bring the blind soules to Catholike religion: a plausible pretence, the least end of his thought.

But if this were coyned in those dayes by the Printers themselues, to passe for currant thorow the world, howsoeuer base it was indéede, wée hope they will be as fauourable to our case, and giue as frée passage and allowance to our inuasion, much more currant, and so farre different, as not to bring a people (according to our prouerbe) out of the frying panne into the fire, but to make their condition truely more happy, by a mutuall enterchange and commerce in this sort: That as to our great expence and charge, wée make aduentures, to impart our diuine riches, to their inestimable gaine, and to couer their naked miserie with ciuill vse of foode, and clothing, and to traine them by gentle meanes to those manuall artes and skill, which they so much affect, and doe admire to sée in vs: so in lewe of this, wée require nothing at their hands, but a quiet residence to vs and ours, that by our owne labour and toyle, we may worke this goode vnto them and recompence our owne aduentures, costs and trauells in

the ende: wherein, they shall be most friendly welcome to conioyne their labours with ours, and shall enioy equall priuiledges with vs, in whatsoeuer good successe, time or meanes may bring to passe. To which purpose, wee may verily beleeue, that God hath reserued in this last age of the world, an infinite number of those lost and scattered sheepe, to be won and recouered by our meanes, of whom so many as obstinately refuse to vnite themselues vnto vs, or shall maligne or disturbe our plantation, our chattel, or whatsoeuer belonging to vs: they shall be held and reputed recusant, withstanding their owne good: and shall be dealt with as enemies of the Common-wealth of their countrie: whereby how much good we shall performe to those that be good, and how little iniury to any, will easily appeare, by comparing our present happinesse with our former ancient miseries, wherein wee had continued brutish, poore and naked Britanes to this day, if *Iulius Cæsar* with his Romane Legions (or some other) had not laid the ground to make vs tame and ciuill.

But for my second point propounded, the honour of our King, by enlarging his kingdomes, to proue how this may tend to that: no argument of mine can make it so manifest, as the same is cleere in it selfe: Diuine testimonies shew, that the honour of a king consisteth in the multitude of subiects, and certainely the state of the Iewes was farre more glorious, by the conquests of *Dauid*, and vnder the ample raigne of *Solomon*, then euer before or after: The twelue Tribes were then all subiect: the bordering Nations tributarie, no doubt a happie subiection to many of them: whereby they had the better meanes to beleeue and know God the Creator of heauen and earth: Honourable I graunt is iust Conquest by sword, and *Hercules* is fained to haue had all his felicity, in subduing and rooting out the Tyrants of the world, but vnfainedly it is most honourable indeede, to subdue the tyranny of the roaring Lion, that deuoures those poore soules in their ignorance, and leads them to hell for want of light, when our Dominions shall be enlarged, and the subiects multiplied of a people so bought and ransomed, not by stormes of raging cruelties (as West India was conuerted) with rapiers point and Musket shot, murdering so many millions of naked Indians, as their stories doe relate, but by faire and louing meanes, suiting to our English natures, like that soft and gentle voice, wherein the Lord appeared to *Elias:* How honourable will this be, in the sight of men and of ages to come? but much more glorious in the sight of God, when our King shall come to make his triumph in heauen. The prophet *Daniel* doth assure, that for this conquest of *turning manie vnto righteousnesse*, hee shall shine as the starres for euer and euer.

And yet this is not all that may be saide, the auncient law, the law of *Moses* settes it downe, as a blessed thing, when the Prince and people of God, shall bee able to lend to all, and neede to borrow of none, and it added very much to the fame and wisedome of king *Solomon*, which the world came farre and neere to wonder at, in that his kingdomes were replenished with golde and siluer in aboundance, and with riches brought in by shippes sent yearely forth in ample trade of Merchandize, whereof wee reade not the like among all the kings of Israel. And vpon good warrant I speake it here in priuate, what by these new discoueries into the Westerne partes, and our hopefull settling in chiefest places of the East, with our former knowne trades in other parts of the world, I doe not doubt (by the helpe of God) but I may liue to see the dayes (if Marchants haue their due encouragement) that the wisedome, Maiestie, and Honour of our King, shall be spread and enlarged to the ends of the world, our Nauigations mightily encreased, and his Maiesties customes more then trebled.

And as for the third part, the releeuing our men already planted, to preserue both them and our former aduentures, I shall not neede to say much, the necessitie is so apparent, that I hope no Aduenturer will be wanting therein.

Our Sauiour *Christ* resembles them that giue ouer in their best duties, to foolish builders, that hauing laid the foundation, doe grauell themselues in the midde way and so become ridiculous: It had béene extreame madness in the *Iewes* (when hauing sent to spy the land that flowed with milke and honey, and ten for two returned backe with tydings of impossibilitie to enter and preuaile,) if then they had retyred and lost the land of promise: No doubt, the Deuill that enuied then that enterprise of theirs, doth now the like in ours, and we must make accompt, and look to bee encountered with many discouragements, partly by our friends and neighbours, (such as we vse to say) will neither goe to Church nor tarrie at home, as also (which is no new thing) euen by such as haue béen sent to spy the land, one while obiecting the charge will be great, the businesse long, and the gaines nothing, and besides the *Anakimes* that dwell in the mountaines, will come and pull vs out by the eares, with such like fooleries I know not what.

But wee must be prepared with *Caleb* and *Iosua* (so highly commended) to oppose an extraordinarie zeale against the detractings of such, to rescue our enterprize from malicious ignorance, and to still their murmurings with reproofe, for though in ordinarie and common occasions, it be our duetie to be carried with ordinarie patience, méekness and humilitie, yet to shew an

excellent spirit, when the cause is worth it, and in such a case as this, requiring passing resolution: It is but our weaknesse to stumble at strawes, and a basenesse to gnaw vpon euery bone that is cast in our way, which wee may obserue by those noble dogges of *Albania* presented to king *Alexander*, whose natures contemned to encounter or prey vpon seely beasts of no valour, but with an ouerflowing courage flying vpon the Lion and the Tyger, did then declare their vertue.

And now it followes, how it can be good for this Commonwealth: which is likewise most apparant many waies. First, if we consider what strength of shipping may be raysed and maintained thence, in furnishing our owne wants of sundrie kindes, and the wants of other Nations too, in such needfull things arising thence which can hardly now be obtained from any other part of the world, as planck and tymber for shipping, with Deale and Wainscot, pipestaues and clabbord, with store of Sope ashes, whereof there grow the best woods to make them in great aboundance, all which we may there haue, the wood for the cutting, and the Ashes for the burning, which though they be grosse commodities, yet no Marchandize is better requested, nor will sooner yeelde golde or siluer in any our bordering Nations. England and Holland alone, spend in these about three hundreth thousand poundes sterling euery yeare. we may transport hether or vnto Hamborough, Holland, or other places, fiftie *per centum* better cheape, then from Prusia or Polonia, from whence they are onely now to be had, where also the woods are so spent and wasted, that from the place where the wood is cut and the ashes burnt, they are brought by land at least two hundred miles to ship. And from thence we may haue Iron and Copper also in great quantitie, about which the expence and waste of woode, as also for building of Shippes, will be no hurt, but great seruice to that countrey; the great superfluity whereof, the continuall cutting downe, in manie hundred yeares, will not be able to ouercome, whereby will likewise grow a greater benefite to this land, in preseruing our woodes and tymber at home, so infinitely and without measure, vpon these occasions cutte downe, and falne to such a sicknesse and wasting consumption, as all the physick in England cannot cure.

We doubt not but to make there in few yeares store of good wines, as any from the Canaries, by replanting and making tame the Vines that naturally grow there in great abundance, onely send men of skill to doe it, and Coopers to make caskes, and hoopes for that and all other vses, for which there is woode enough at hand.

There are Silke-wormes, and plenty of Mulberie-trees, where-

by Ladies, Gentlewomen and little children, (beeing set in the way to doe it) may bee all imploied with pleasure, in making Silke, comparable to that of *Persia*, *Turkey*, or any other. We may bring from thence Sturgion, Cauiare, and new land-fish of the best. There grows hempe for Cordage, an excellent commoditie, and flaxe for linnen cloth ; which beeing sowen and well manured, in such a clymate and fertile soyle, will make great benefite, and will put downe that of other countries.

And for the making of Pitch, Tarre, Turpentine, Sope-ashes, Deale, Wainscott, and such like, wee haue alreadie prouided and sent thither skillfull workemen from forraine parts, which may teach and set ours in the way, whereby we may set many thousands a worke, in these such like seruices.

For as I tolde you before, there must be Art and industry with our helps and means extended, with a little pacience to bring these things to passe, wee must not looke to reape with ioy, except we sow in tears: The aboundance of King *Solomons* golde and siluer, did not raine from heauen vpon the heads of his subiects: but heauenly prouidence blessed his Nauigations and publike affayres, the chiefe meanes of their wealth.

Experience hath lately taught vs by some of our neighbour Prouinces, how exceedingly it mounts the State of a Commonwealth, to put forth Nauigation (if it were possible) into all parts and corners of the world, to furnish our owne wants, and also to supply from one kingdome to another, such seuerall needfull things, as for want of shipping and other meanes they cannot furnish of themselues, for this will raise experience, and men of skill, as also strength at Sea and land, with honour, wealth, and riches, returning still to the heads and fountaines, from whence their first occasions grew.

Wee may but looke a little backe, and wee shall see what a nouice our nation was within these sixscore yeeres, in case of forraine trade, not knowing whence to fetch, nor which way to transport, but onely to some marte or staple towne, within two daies sailing, and that was counted so great a matter then, that therefore they were called Marchant aduenturers, and the great Hulkes of *Italy*, which in those daies brought spices Corants and such like, and landes at *Southampton*, (the Storehouse then for Marchandize) are Chronicled for wonders in our *English* Stories for indeede we knew no better then, but were content (as babes) with *Easterlings* on the one hand and *Lumbards* on the other, which were continuall Liegers in *London*, and fed vs as they listed.

And take this euer as a rule, that Domesticke Marchandizing

brings forth but poore effects in a Commonwealth, whereof I needed not haue shewed example further then our owne doores.

What was the case of *England* before the golden daies of Quéene *Elizabeth* at whose comming to the crowne, the state of Marchants was so poore and meane, that renting out her customes in wardes, but at a very lowe rate, yet it brought the farmer vpon his knées.

A man that markes the difference, and shall compare those times and these together, shall thinke it were impossible, (vnlesse his knowledge taught him otherwise) that the dayes and raigne of one *Elizabeth*, whose hand was euer lending to distressed neighbour Princes, and her sword vnsheathed continually, repulsing forraine enemies, should yet releeue and raise the state of her customes, the strength of her Nauie, and the condition of her people, euery way seuen fold to that they were before, onely by encouraging the royall trade of Marchandize, as wee see it this day apparant: Let God haue the honour, and blessed be her memory, and the memoriall of those managers of State in her daies, for their worthy counsells, many of which though they now sléepe, and rest with their *Soueraigne* in peace, yet some doe still remaine, and doe succeede in place, where long may they stand and their séede after them, like the Pillars and Worthies of King *Dauid*, to shielde the head and honour of our *Solomon*, and still to vphold and enlarge our happinesse for euer: and this I am driuen to speake and mention by the way, where I meant it not in regard of some which vpon a disaster beginne to waxe weary of all, discouraging themselues and others, from this and all other forraine aduentures: to let them know, that each thing hath encrease, from whence it had beginning: and to put our selues in mind, that wee faile not in furthering those causes that bring forth such effects.

Another instance might be shewed in one particular, which taxeth very much our English Nation, and all the subiects of our soueraigne King, that enjoying such plentie of woodlands, and fruitfull soiles, within England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales: yet our want of industry to bee such, that Netherlanders which haue not a stick of wood growing nor any land for sowing, should surpasse and goe beyond vs in continuall plenty of corne and shipping, me thinks the reformation hereof should find more fauour at our hands, that in such points of ciuil pollicie, no people of lesser meanes should cast vs so behinde, and each well minded man should lend his helpe to heale and cure such staines and scarres in the face of our state, as being viewed and wayed well, may very well make vs blush.

And now to our present businesse in hand, which so many stumble at, in regard of the continuall charge, I would haue them know, that it cannot be great nor long, as the businesse may be handled. Two things are especially required herein, people to make the plantation, and money to furnish our present prouisions and shippings now in hand: For the first wee neede not doubt, our land abounding with swarmes of idle persons, which hauing no meanes of labour to relëeue their misery, doe likewise swarme in lewd and naughtie practises, so that if we seeke not some waies for their forreine employment, wee must prouide shortly more prisons and corrections for their bad conditions, for it fares with populous common weales, as with plants and trees that bee too frolicke, which not able to sustaine and feede their multitude of branches, doe admit an engrafting of their buds and sciences into some other soile, accounting it a benefite for preseruation of their kind, and a disburdening their stocke of those superfluous twigs that suck away their nourishment. And we shall find that hence it was, the Gothes and Vandalles with other barbarous nations, sëeing an ouerflowing of their multitudes at home, did therefore send their Armies out as raging floods at sundrie times, to cover the faces of Spain, Italy and other Prouinces, to free their owne from pestering: so that you see it no new thing, but most profitable for our State, to rid our multitudes of such as lie at home, pestering the land with pestilence and penury, and infecting one another with vice and villanie, worse then the plague it selfe: whose very miseries driues many of them, by meanes to be cutte off, as bad and wicked members, or else both them and theirs to be relëeued at the common charge of others.

Yet I doe not meane, that none but such unsound members, and such poore as want their bread, are fittest for this imployment: for we intend to haue of euery trade and profession, both honest, wise and painefull men, whereof our land and Citie is able to spare, and furnish many (as we had experience in our last sending thither) which will be glad to goe, and plant themselues so happily, and their children after them, to holde and keepe conformitie, with the lawes, language and religion of England for ever.

Touching which, I doe earnestly admonish you to beware and shunne three kindes of people: the first, a most vile minded sort, and for the most part badde members of this Citie, by some meanes shaken out of their honest courses, and now shifting by their wittes, will be allwaies deuising some unhappines to wrong the plantation: such as daily beate their braines, and sëeke by lying suggestions, under colour of good pretence to the Common-wealth to infringe our auncient liberties, and would (if they were not mette withall and curbed by authoritie) make a monopoly to

themselues, of each thing after other, belonging to the freedome of euery mans profession, the very wrack of Merchandizing.

The second sort are papists, professed or Recusant of which I would not one, seasoned with the least taint of that leauen, to be setled in our plantation, nor in any part of that country, but if once perceiued, such a one, wéede him out, and ship him home for England, for they will euer be plotting and conspiring, to root you out if they can, howsoever they sweare, flatter, and equiuocate, beleeue them not: keepe onely these two examples in minde.

Watson the Seminarie priest in his printed *Quodlibets:* he, of all other men protesteth the greatest truth and fidelity to his Prince and countrey; obiecting all the bloudy plottes and treasons, to haue come from the combination of *Iesuits*, and from *Parsons*, that Arch-Atheist in chiefe, but as for himselfe, hee wished no longer to liue and breath, then the thoughts of his hart should be true and upright to his Prince and Countrey: Notwithstanding, this *Watson* was the very first wretch of all other, that had his hand in treason against our King, and reapt his reward according to his wish.

The other example is a Popish Pamphlet, called the Lay Catholikes Petition, offered to his Maiestie for tolleration of Popery, protesting likewise their fidelitie and unfained love to his Maiestie, offering to be bound life for life with good suerties for their loyail behauiour: happy men had we béen to haue taken their bonds, (no doubt) for euen at that instant, when this petition was exhibiting, the chiefe heads of those lay Catholikes, were then labouring with all their might, to undermine the Parliament house, to shake the Pillers, and the whole frame of the Kingdome to shiuers.

And which is more, there is newly dispersed an idle discourse against an honorable peasonage of this Land, by a Papist, that termes himselfe a Catholike Diuine, defending *Garnet* the Popish Priest; saying, there was nothing against him at his arraignement, but onely his acquaintance with the Powder-plotte: which (saith hee) beeing reuealed vnto him in auricular confession, hee might not therefore by the lawe and righte of Catholike religion, disclose nor make it knowne.

How like you these Catholikes and this diuinitie? If they grow so bold and desperate in a mighty settled State, howe much more dangerous in the birth and infancie of yours? Therefore if you will liue and prosper, harbor not this viperous broode in your bosome, which will eat out and consume the wombe of their mother.

The third sort to auoide, are euill affected Magistrates, a plague

that God himselfe complaines of by the Prophet *Isaiah: O my people, they that leade thee, cause thee to erre.* Touching which, I am no way able to speake enough, for herein lies the very life of all: let no partialitie preferre them, unless they be werthy men; if they be Papists or Popishly minded; if prophane Atheists, contemning God and his word, turning religion to policy, unchaste, idle, ambitious, proud and tyrannous, forgetting their allegiance to their King, and duety to their countrey, neglecting their commission of imployment, aduancing vilde and vitious persons like themselues, and basely vsing those that are vertuous, godly, and well affected: then looke for no blessing nor assistance of God, but misery, crosses, and confusions in all wée take in hand: but in men of knowledge, and religious education, there is euer found true humilite, temperance and iustice, ioyned with confidence, valour and noble courage, such as was in *Moses* the man of God; whose iustice excéeded, and courage was incomparable, and yet the meekest man that went vpon the earth: tenne of such will chase an hundred: no aduersitie can make them despayre, their prouident care will euer be to repulse iniuries, and represse the insolent, to encourage the paineful and best minded, to employ the sole to some honest labours, and to releeve with mercy and commiseration, the most feeble, weakest and meanest member.

And as for the generall sort that shall goe to bee planters, bee they neuer so poore, so they be honest, and painefull, the place will make them rich: all kinde of Artificers wee must first imploy, are Carpenters, Ship-wrights, Masons, Sawyers, Brickemakers, Bricklayers, Plowmen, Sowers, Planters, Fishermen, Coopers, Smiths, Mettel-men, Taylers, Turners, and such like, to make and fitte all necessaries, for comfort and use of the Colony, and for such as are of no trades (if they bee industrious) they shall have there imployment enough, for there is a world of means to set many thousands a worke, partly in such things as I mentioned before, and many other profitable workes, for no man must liue idle there.

And by this imploiment, we may happily stop the course of those Irregular youths of no religion, that daily run from us to *Rome* and *Rhemes* for exhibition, which after a little hammering and trayning there by *Parsons* and his Impes, they become pliable for the impression of any villany whatsoeuer, as appeares by their positions and practises at home and abroad.

And hereby our Marriners shall not lie idle, nor our Owners sell their ships for want of freight: you know how many good ships are daily solde, and made away to forreine nations: how

many men for want of imploiment, betake themselues to *Tunis*, *Spaine* and *Florence*, and to serue in courses not warrantable, which would better beseeme, our owne walles and borders to bee spread with such branches, that their natiue countrey, and not forreine Princes, might reape their fruit, as being both exquisite Nauigators, and resolute men for seruice, as any the world affords.

Wee intend to plant there (God willing) great plentie of Sugar Canes, for which the soyle and clymate is very apt and fit; also Linseed, and Rapeséeds to make Oiles, which because the soyle is strong and cheape, may there be sowed and the oyle made to great benefite: wee must plant also Orenges, Limons, Almonds, Anniséeds, Rice, Cummin, Cotton wool, Carowey séeds, Ginger, Madder, Oliues, Oris, Sumacke, and many such like, which I cannot now name, all very good Marchandize, and will there grow and increase, as well as in *Italy* or any other part of the streights, whence we fetch them now. And in searching the land there is vndoubted hope of finding Cochinell, the plant of rich Indico, Graine-berries, Beauer Hydes, Pearles, rich Treasure, and the South sea, leading to *China*, with many other benefites which our day-light will discouer.

But of all other things, that God hath denied that countrie, there is want of Sheepe to make woollen cloth, and this want of cloth, must alwaies bee supplied from England, whereby when the Colony is thorowly increased, and the *Indians* brought to our Ciuilitie (as they will in short time) it will cause a mighty vent of *English* clothes, a great benefit to our Nation, and raising againe of that auncient trade of clothing, so much decayed in England: whose lifting up againe (me thinkes I see apparantly approching,) by the good dispositions of our best sort of Citizens, who willingly engage themselues to undertake all new discoueries, as into this of the West, and by the North West to finde out *China*. And vnto the East beyond the *Cape*, into the *Red Sea*, the gulfe of *Persia*, the streights of *Sunda*, and among all the Kings of *India*, for the good and honour of our Nation: Which calles to minde, a blind Prophesie in one of the *Sibells*, that before the ende of the world there shall be a discouerie of all Nations: which shall come to bee knowne and acquainted together, as one neighbour with another, which since the confusion of tongues have lyen obscure and hid.

But howeuer that bee, yet these good mindes and resolutions, doe serve for imitation to others, and doe deserue assuredly the best encouragement, whereby wee shall not still betake our selues to small and little Shipping (as we dayly do beginne,) but shall reare againe such Marchants Shippes both tall and stout, as no

forreine Sayle that swimmes shall make them vaile or stoope: whereby to make this little Northerne corner of the world, to be in short time the richest Store-house and Staple for marchandize in all Europe.

The second thing to make this Plantation is money, to be raised among the aduenturers, wherein the sooner and more deeply men engage themselues, their charge will be the shorter, and their gaine the greater, as in this last point which I haue to speake for the good of each particular Aduenturer, I will make it plaine.

First you shall understand, that his Majestie hath granted us an enlargement of our Charter, with many ample priuiledges, wherein we have Knights and Gentlemen of good place: Named for the Kings counsell of *Virginia* to gouerne us: As also euery Planter and Aduenturer shall be inserted in the Patent by name. This ground being laide, wee purpose presently to make supply of Men, Women and Children (so many as we can) to make the Plantation. Wee call those Planters that goe in their persons to dwell there: And those Aduenturers that aduenture their money and go not in person, and both doe make the members of one Colonie. We do account twelue pound ten shillings to be a single share aduentured. Euery ordinary man or woman, if they will goe and dwell there, and euery childe aboue tenne yeares, that shall be carried thither to remaine, shall be allowed for each of their persons a single share, as if they had aduentured twelue pound ten shillings in money. Euerie extraordinarie man, as Diuines, Governors, Ministers of State and Justice, Knights, Gentlemen, Physitions, and such as be men of worth for special seruices, are all to goe as planters, and to execute their seueral functions in the Colonie, and are to be maintained at the common charge, and are to receiue their Diuident (as others doe) at seuen yeares end, and they are to be agréed with all before they goe, and to be rated by the Councell, according to the value of their persons: which shall be set downe and Registred in a booke, that it may alwaies appeare what people haue gone to the Plantation, at what time they went and how their persons were valued: And likewise, if any that goe to bee planters will lay downe money to the Treasurer, it shall be also registred and their shares inlarged accordingly be it for more or lesse. All charges of setling and maintaining the Plantation, and of making supplies, shall be borne in a ioint stock of the aduenturers for seuen yeares after the date of our new enlargement: during which time there shall be no aduenture, nor goods returned in priuate from thence, neytheir by Master, Marriner, Planter, nor Passenger, they shall be restrained by bond and search, that as we supplie from hence

to the Planters at our owne charge all necessaries for food and apparel, for fortifying and building of houses in a ioynt stock, so they are also to returne from thence the encrease and fruits of their labours, for the vse and aduancement of the same ioynt stocke, till the end of seuen yeares: at which time wee purpose (God willing) to make a diuision by Commissioners appointed, of all the lands granted vnto vs by his Maiestie, to euery of the Colonie, according to each mans seuerall aduenture, agréeing with our Register booke, which wee doubt not will bee for euery share of twelue pound tenne shillings, five hundred acres at least. Now if any thinke that wee shall bee tyed to a continuall charge, of making new supplies for seuen yeares, let them conceiue thus much, that if we doe it thorowly at the first, by engaging our selues at once, in furnishing many men and other meanes: assuredly after the second yeare, the returnes from thence will be able with an ouer-plus, to make supplies at large, so that our purses shall be freed, and the ouer-plus of stock will also grow to greatness, which stock is also (as the land) to be diuided equally at seuen yeares end or sooner, or so often as the company shall thinke fit for the greatness of it, to make a Diuident.

And as by this wée shall be soone freed from charge and expence, so there grows a greater benefit to the planters (by bestowing their labours chéerfully) to make returne of stocke, for hereby the sooner they freeing vs from disbursements, the more our shares and portions will be lessened in the Diuident of Stocke and land at seuen yéeres end, whereby the lesse comming to vs, the more will be to them, so that héere is no discouragement any way, if men will be capable to doe themselues good. But if we will be so wise to linger, and lie in the winde, to heare what newes, to bring in our stocke next yeare, and when we are behinde for foure or fiue Aduentures, we come dropping in with one or two and still runne in arrerages for twice so much: (For I know many that would bring in stocke amongst vs, but they lie out to sée what successe first: and vpon such like termes.) Is this Gentleman-like, or Marchant-like, in truth it is paultry, and such as would bring all to naught, if we should bee so minded too, and I tell you true, our single shares will make but a hungry plantation, if we doe not at the least double them now: and therefore I vrge it the more, for that the very life of all is now in the beginning by making our supplies thoroughly, and thence will our gaines arise both sooner and certain. Yet I grant that others may come in hereafter at any time, eyther to aduenture his person or money, or both, but if there be spent one yeere of the seuen before he comes in, or hée that comes in with the first shall not-

withstanding bée a yeare behinde in supplies, they shall be both alike shortened in a seuenth part of the Diuident both of stocke and lands, and if two yeeres behinde, then shortened two seuenths, and if but sixe moneths, yet a fourtéenth part, for euery man is Registred according to the time, his money or person beganne to aduenture, or made supply, so that they which come late, get not the start of those that bore the first brunt of the business, and this will neither aduantage him that withholds, nor hinder him that is forward, for whatsoeuer falles from him that is slack, will be found of him that supplies in due time. But euery man that comes in now in the first of these seuen yéeres and shall afterwards vpon all occasions perform in due time, euery twelue pound tenne shillings so brought in shall bee accounted an entire single share, and shall receiue accordingly without abridgement, as it had béene brought in, when the enterprise first beganne and not otherwise.

And as for the diuisions of landes at seuen yeeres ende which (some may obiect) will be little worth, and vnequally diuided: let them vnderstand, that no man shall haue his lot entirely in one place, to be all of the best, or all of the worst, but each man shall haue proportionably to his aduentures, in thrée or foure distinct differences, that may bee made in the goodnesse or badnesse of the groundes by Commissioners equally chosen by the Aduenturers héere, and the Planters there; and as for the value and little worth now, of those grounds in *Virginia*, we know that in England within these thirty or fortie yeeres, the yéerely rent of those grounds (in many places) were not worth fiue shillings, that now do goe for fourtie and more.

And howsoeuer those grounds in *Virginia* are now but little worth indéede, yet time and meanes will make them better, considering how they passe our grounds in *England*, both in regard of the soile and clymate, fitte for many precious vses: And also in how many seuerall places we purpose to plant our Colony, and not to bestow our costs vpon *Iames-towne* onely, and vpon the grounds lying thereabout, and to let all the rest lie barren: for seeing his Maiestie hath graunted to our Colony as much circuite of ground as all *England* almost, we purpose (God willing) if wee may be supplied with sufficient meanes, to settle out of hand, sixe or seuen plantations more, all vpon, or neare our mainriuer, as capitall townes, twenty myles each from other, and euery plantation shall manure and husband the lands and grounds lying néere vnto it, and allotted for the circuite thereof, and shall all endeuour for a ioynt stocke, and shall be still supplied from hence with more money and prouisions, and against any publike iniury

shall be ready to vnite, and ioyne themselues together. And by this meanes wee shall come to haue our Diuident in landes of worth and well manured, which will be eyther bought or rented of vs at a good value by the planters, or by such as intend hereafter to inhabite there, as also by these seueral plantations (which happily one place better fitting then another) wee shall bring forth more seuerall sorts of Marchandize, and be also better fortified: and besides the Planters will be in such hope to haue their owne shares and habitations in those lands, which they haue so husbanded, that it will cause contending and emulation among them, which shall bring foorth the most profitable and beneficiall fruites for the ioynt stocke.

Whereby vndoubtedly, wee shall be soone fréed from further expence, our gaines will grow, and our stocke encrease, we shall fell our tymber, saw our planck, and quickly make good shipping there, and shall returne from thence with good imployment, an hundred saile of good shippes yearely, all which good and much more, wee shall withstand and bring our selues into a laborinth, if wee pinch and spare our purses now: therefore not to holde you longer with many wordes, (being neere Exchange time as I take it) remember what I haue said in prouing my proposition, and take my conclusion in a word or two.

Séeing our prouocations are so many, our cause and title good, auaunt all idle oracles that seeke to bar vs: The wisedome of the wisest saith in these cases, *VVhatsoeuer thy hand shall find to doe, do it with all thy might.*

Our forefathers not looking out in time, lost the prime and fairest proffer of the greatest wealth in the world, and wee taxe their omission for it, yet now it falles out, that wee their children are tryed in the like, there being yet an excellent portion left, and by Diuine prouidence offered to our choice, which (seeing we haue armes to embrace,) let it not be accounted hereafter, *As a prize in the hands of fooles, that had no hearts to vse it.*

The honour of our nation is now very great by his Maiesties meanes, and wee his subiects cannot enlarge and vphold it by gazing on, and talking what hath béene done, but by doing that good, which may bee commended hereafter, if we sitte still and let slip occasions, we shall gather rust, and doe vnfeather our owne wings, committing the folly of the wise Romanes heerein, that in time of their glory, flowing with the conquestes and spoiles of the world, and hauing gotten the Goddesse *Victoria* to Rome, they clipt her wings, and set her vp among their Gods, that shée might take her flight no more, as she had formerly done from the Gretians and others, and so effeminating their valour with

idlenesse and security, it brought confusion and ruine to their state.

Let not such a prize of hopefull euents, so lately purchased by the hazard of our valiant men, in the déepe Seas of forreine dangers, now perish in the Hauen by our neglect, the liues of our friends already planted, and of those noble Knights and Gentlemen that entend to góe shortly, must lie at our mercy to be relée ued and supplied by vs, or to be made a prey vnto others, (though wee feare not the subiects of any Prince in amity, that they will offer wrong vnto vs:) And howsoeuer wee heare tales and rumours of this and that, yet be not dismaid, for I tell you, if we finde that any miscreants haue wronged, or goe about to hurt our few hundreds there, we shall be ready to right it againe with many thousands, like the giant *Anteus*, whose often foiles renued his strength the more.

And consider well that great worke of fréeing the poore *Indians* from the deuourer, a compassion that euery good man (but passing by) would shew vnto a beast: their children when they come to be saued, will blesse the day when first their fathers saw your faces.

If those vndaunted English and Scottish Captaines that so often ventured their liues, and spilt their blood, to re-conquer Palestina from the Turks and Sarazens, had séen the gappe so open in their daies, and the way leading to so many goodly purchases, certainely it had not now béene left for vs to doe. How strange a thing is this that all the States of Europe haue béene a sleepe so long? That for an hundred yeares and more, the wealth and riches of the East and West should runne no other current but into one coffer, so long till the running ouer, spread it selfe abundantly among a factious crew of new created Friers, and that to no more speciall end, then with instigating bloody plots to pierce the heart of a Christian State and true Religion.

It is long since I read in a little treatise, made by *Frith*, an English Martyre, an excellent foretelling touching the happinesse of these Northerne Ilands, and of great wonders that should be wrought by Scots and English, before the comming of Christ, but I haue almost forgotten, and cannot readily call it to minde as I would, and therefore I omitte it now, Protesting vnto you, it would be my griefe and sorrow, to be exempted from the company of so many honourable minded men, and from this enterprise, tending to so many good endes, and then which, I truely thinke this day, there is not a worke of more excellent hope vnder the Sun, and farre excelling (all circumstances wayed) those Noble deedes of *Alexander*, *Hercules*, and those heathen

Monarks, for which they were deemed Gods among their posterity.

And so I leaue it to your consideration, with a memorable note of *Thomas Lord Howard*, Earle of Surry, when K. *Henry* the eight, with his Nobles at Douer tooke shipping for Turwin and Turney, and bidding the said Earle farewell, whom he made Gouernour in his absence; the Story sayth the Nobleman wept, and tooke his leaue with teares, an admirable good nature in a valiant minde, greeuing to be left behinde his Prince and Peeres in such an honourble seruice.

FINIS.

THE

NEW LIFE OF VIRGINEA:

Declaring the former successe and present estate of that plantation,

Being the Second part of NOUA BRITANNIA.

Published by Authoritie of his MAJESTIES COUNSELL of Virginea.

LONDON,
Imprinted by FELIX KYNGSTON for *William Welby*, dwelling at the Sign of the *Swan*, in *Pauls Churchyard*.

1612.

P. Force, *Washington*, 1835.

EPISTILE DEDICATORIE.

To the Right Worshipful and worthie Knight
Sir Thomas Smith, *of London*, Governour
of the Moscovia and East India
Companies, one of his Majesties
Counsell for Virginea, and
Treasurer for the Colony:
Peace and health in
Christ.

IT is come to passe (right Worshipful) with the businesse and plantation of Virginea, as it is commonly seene in the attempt and progress of all other most excellent things (which is) to be accompained with manifold difficulties, crosses and disasters, being such as are appointed by the highest providence, as an

exercise of patience and other vertues, and to make more wise thereby the managers thereof: by which occasion not only the ignorant and simple minded are much discouraged, but the malitious and looser sort (being accompanied with the licentious vaine of stage Poets) have whet their tongues with scornfull taunts against the action it selfe, in so much as there is no common speech nor publicke name of any thiug this day, (except it be the name of God) which is more vildly dépraved, traduced and derided by such unhallowed lips, then the name of Virginea. For which cause (right noble Knight) I have set my selfe to publish this briefe apollogie to the sight and view of all men, not to answer any such in their particular folly, but to free the name it selfe from the injurious scoffer, and this commendable enterprise from the scorne and derision of any such, as by ignorance or malice have sought the way to wrong it. Which albeit I am well assured will no way availe to admonish or amend the incorrigible loosenes of such untamed tongues, yet shall I hold mine endevours well acquited, if I may but free your selfe, and so many right noble, and well affected gen-

tlemen (touching the former ill successe) from wrongfull imputation, as also satisfie the despairing thoughts, and quicken the zeal of such friends and lovers to this businesse, as in their remote and forraine residence, by the spreading of rumours and false reports doe rest unsatisfied. Wherein (as I hope) not to exceed the bounds of modestie and truth, so for orders sake I have set it down in a briefe method of three parts. The first is nothing else but a briefe relating of things alreadie done and past: The second of the present estate of the businesse: And the third doth tend as a premonition to the planters and adventurers for the time to come.

And this I offer to the patronage of your Worship alone, being the chiefest patron of this and of many more worthie services: wherein I presume not any way to counsell or direct your wisedome in your further proceedings, whom long experience in Common-wealth affaires (besides that abilitie and wisedome of minde infused by God) hath made most able and sufficient of your selfe to direct many others, but as wishing heereby (if I might in some measure) to ease the burthen of your mind, under the wise and

painfull managing of your many publike actions:
for which I pray that God will please, to
continue still your health and strength
of body, with answerable successe,
to your honest, wise, and
most approved desires.

R. I.

THE

NEW LIFE

OF VIRGINEA.

IN that most sacred historie penned by the Prophet Moses, (the first historian that ever wrote, and left his writings to posteritie) it is recorded, that when the pride of earthlie men, in the race and progenie of Noah, began to aspire and sought to clime the Celestial throne; it so highly provoked the Majestie of God, that consulting with the Deitie, and comming downe by his word and almightie power, he subverted their devices and proud attempt, infatuating their understanding by confounding their tongues, and leaving each one to his severall waies, to follow the pronesse and follie of his owne heart, so that from this scattering and casting them out like unprofitable seed upon the dust of the earth, did spring up (as weeds in solitarie places) such a barbarous and unfruitful race of mankinde, that even to this day (as is very probable many huge and spatious Countries and corners of the world unknowne, doe still swarme and abound with the innumerable languages of this dispersed crue, with their inhumane behaviour and brutish conditions, and howsoever God laying this heavie curse and punishment upon them, that for the space of three thousand yeares and more, did never vouchsafe the hand of the weeder, to clense and give redresse to so desolate and outgrowne wildernesse of humaine nature, yet such is his eternall purpose, who in his owne appointed time, doth reskue the brand from burning and the prey from the Lions teeth, that like as we our selves and our forefathers (the first fruites of the Gentiles, who were all guilty of that great conspiracie) which were strangers from the Commonwealth of Israel, and lived long time without God in the world, were yet at length reduced home to that familie of saints and sonnes of God, so now appeareth the same grace, which God out of his secret counsell begins to ex-

tend and give to the remnants of those scattered Gentiles, our kinsmen and younger brethren (as I may say) the sundrie nations of America: which as they consist of infinite confused tongues and people, that sacrifice their children to serve the divel, as those heathens did their sonnes and daughters to Levit. 20. 2. Molech: yet who can doubt or say, but even amongst these, God may have his speciall numbers from whose neckes hee will now remove that heavie yoake of bondage: and to that end it is to be observed, when after that great apostacie foretold by the spirit of God, and which for many hundred yeares had almost drowned the christian world in superstition and Idolatrie; God that raised up her Majestie, our late Soveraigne, and put into her heart, by wholesome lawes to wipe away that mist of popish dimnes from our eyes, whereby we saw the light more cleare, did likewise move her Princely mind to proffer that light to this blinde and miserable people, in giving the first incouragement by our English Colonies to make plantation there, and according to her selfe, and the condition of her sexe, she named the Countrey Virginea: which mee thinkes should enforce from them that love the monuments of her never dying memoire, a fervent bond of zeale to that name and worke of God, the ground whereof was laid by her, the happinesse of whose raigne was our unspeakable joy, and will be derived to our posteritie.

And howsoever God pleased not to suffer the performance of that excellent worke in her daies (as hee likewise denied King David, whose purpose and preparation was to have built a Temple for the Lord) yet hee raised up (like Salomon) the best and wisest among the sonnes of men to be our King, and hath bent his royall disposition, by many gratious privileges, and giving his customs freely, to build this Temple for the Lord, yea many living temples for the honour of his name.

What shall wee then say, when thus the powers of heaven and earth encouraged the enterprize, and stirred up the spirits of worthy men, not the basest, but of the best and most honourable minded in the kingdome, to engage themselves to solicite their friends to assemble and consult advisedly how to replant this unnatural vine to make it fruitfull, when they looked to heaven they saw a promise, and looking to earthward they saw a blessing. And albeit in that infancie their numbers were but small, yet their willing resolution supplying that want, they made out 3. shippes with Captaine Newport, for a discoverie, who within few monthes returned with relation of a countrie discovered and seated like that pleasant land described by Moses, the stones whereof where brasse and iron, whose mountaines, vallies and streams did all attend some good employment, that they saw a poore people

living there in the shadow of death, without light or sense of their owne miserie, and that there wanted nothing but industrie and art to adde to nature.

Upon which encouragement new supplies were made; with expedition some few hundreds of our men were left there by Captaine Newport, with al kind of provisions and directions for the ground and foundation of a Common-wealth. Their barbarous king Powhatan entertained them lovingly, and admitted them a large countrie to inhabit, the poore Savages brought them such relief as they had; our owne people wrote letters home in praise of the countrie, and labored their friends to come thither, they began to fortifie where they saw convenient, they built a Church and many houses together, which they named James Towne, they nourished their swine, hens, and other provisions they carried out of England, which plentifully encreased: they cut downe wood for wanscot, blacke walnut tree, Spruce, Cedar and Deale, they got rich furs, dying stuffe, minerals and iron ore (which made excellent good iron) they planted orange trees, corne, and sundrie kindes of seeds, they made Sope ashes and Tar, with some Sturgeon and Caveare, and of each of these they sent us small quantities, with store of Sassafrasse, and some wine of those countrie grapes for a triall: all which being the work but of a small number, not fully settled, gave sufficient testimony what might bee effected there by settling good government, and sending more supplies of men, and meanes to plant the soile and make discoveries.

This happy proceeding caused the action to be accounted as wonne, and caused so many willing minds to adventure their monies, that there wanted not sufficient meanes, to furnish out a fleet of 9. good ships, with the better part of five hundred men to inhabit there. Sir Thomas Gates being Lieutenant generall, and Sir George Sommers Admirall of Virginea, both of them appointed by commission to reside in the countrie to governe the Colonie, which together set saile and departed the coast of England with a faire wind the first of June 1609.

But who can withstand the counsell of God that sits in the stearne of all actions, and so directed this present fleet, that before they came neere the coast of Virginea, the ship named the Sea Venture, being also Admiral of the fleet, wherein were shipped the two Knights before named, and Captaine Newport with an hundred and fiftie persons, was violently taken and carried with the rage of tempestuous stormes, without hope or likelihood of life at least an hundred leagues to the sowthward, till they arrived upon the desperate shore of the Ilands of Bermudus, where betweene two rockes the ship split in peeces, and yet by

the miraculous hand of God and industrie of the Captaines, all the people escaped safe to land and not a man perished.

Of whose long abode and preservation in these broken deserts, and of their strange and wonderfull deliverie thence, it is already related and published by Sir Thomas Gates, and so I returne to the other eight ships, which escaping the danger of seas arived at the port, and landed their men in Virginea.

By which meanes the body of the plantation, was now augmented with such numbers of irregular persons, that it soone became as so many members without a head, who as they were bad and evill affected for the most part before they went hence; so now being landed, and wanting restraint, they displaied their condition in al kind of looseness, those chiefe and wisest guides among them (whereof there were not many) did nothing but bitterly contend who should be first to command the rest, the common sort, as is ever seene in such cases grow factious and disordered out of measure, in so much as the poore Colonie seemed (like the Colledge of English fugitives in Rome) as a hostile Campe within it selfe: in which distemper that envious man stept in, sowing plentifull tares in the hearts of all, which grew to such speedie confusion, that in few moneths, Ambition, sloth and idlenes had devoured the fruits of former labours, planting and sowing were cleane given over, the houses decaied, the Church fell to ruine, the store was spent, the cattell consumed, our people starved, and the poore Indians by wrongs and injuries were made our enemies, two of the ships returning home perished upon the point of Ushant, the rest of the fleet came ship after ship, laden with nothing but bad reports and letters of discouragement: and which added the more to our crosse, they brought us newes that the Admirall ship, with the two Knights and Captaine Newport were missing, severed in a mightie storme outward, and could not be heard of which we therefore yeelded as lost for many moneths together, and so that Virgine voyage (as I may tearme it) which went out smilling on her lovers with pleasant lookes, after her wearie travailes, did thus returne with a rent and disfigured face: for which how justly her friends tooke occasion of sorrow, and others to insult and scoffe, let men of reason judge. And as for those wicked Impes that put themselves a shipboord, not knowing otherwise how to live in England; or those ungratious sons that dailie vexed their fathers hearts at home, and were therefore thrust upon the voyage, which either writing thence, or being returned back to cover their own leudnes doe fill mens eares with false reports of their miserable and perilous life in Virginea, let the imputation of miserie be to their

Parsons letter in the Quodlibets.

idleness, and the blood that was spilt upon their own heads that caused it.

And howsoever it is true, that upon these events many adventurers which had formerly well affected the businesse, when they saw such unexpected tragedies withdrew themselves and their monies from adventure. Notwithstanding it lessened much the preparations, yet it hindered not the resolution of that honourable Lord (appointed Lord Governour) to goe in his owne person, who together with the rest of the adventurers assisting his setting forth, having in their wisdomes rightlie weighed, that to the desired end of all good actions in this life, the way doth lie as well, with rough and craggie steps as smooth and easie paths, did presently set on with three good ships, wherein the Lord Governour, attended with Sir Ferdinando Wainman and sundry others, set saile from the coast of England, in the beginning of Aprill 1610, and on the 9. of June arrived safely at the disfortified fort in Virginea, where his Lordship finding their desperate condition so poore and meane, and so cleere a consumption of all former emploiments, that scarsely the steps or print of twenty hundred groats disbursed, which had truly cost the Adventurers here above twentie thousand pounds. The Lord la Warre.

And thus wee stood in state of Marchants that had adventured much and lost all: in which case we might now make answere with King Alexander (having given away al to his Captaines) we had nothing left but hope, and this hope of ours we fixed much (if not too much) upon that honourable Lord Governour, then landed in Virginea, who as the world and our selves knew right well to be religious and wise, of a strong bodie and valerous minde, and under his wings so confidently reposed the shield of our businesse, that God minding to make us know that our arme was yet but flesh, even in the front of his enterprize overthrew the Nobleman by laying such a heavie hand of sicknesse and diseases upon him, that unable to weld and support the state of his owne body, much lesse the affaires of the Colonie, he was forced with griefe of heart, through the anguish and dolor of his maladie, and for remedie to save his life, after eight moneths sicknesse to returne for England againe; which when the Adventurers saw that the expectance of such a preparation came to nothing, how great a dampe of coldnesse it wrought in the hearts of all, may easile be deemed.

And yet had we left one sparke of hope unquencht, for before wee knew any such thing of his Lordships weaknesse, or once imagined his returning home, we had furnisht out Sir Thomas Dale with a good supplie of three ships, men, cattell, and many

provisions: all which arived safe at the Colonie the 10. of May 1611. And notwithstanding the Knight at his landing there found the Lord Governour to bee gone, whereof he wrote us home most dolefull letters, as also of the fewnesse, idlenesse and weake estate wherein hee found the Colony: yet decyphered he the country in divers of his letters with admirable praise, giving us notice of his proceeding to fortifie, to build, to plant, and that the health of our men was now recovered by setting them to labour, assuring the adventurers so long as he remained there, their ships should never returne emptie; his words are these: *But if any thing otherwise then well betide me in this businesse, let me commend unto your carefulnesse, the pursuite and dignitie of this businesse, then which your purses and endevours will never open nor travell in a more acceptable and meritorious enterprize, take foure of the best kingdomes in Christendome, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this countrie either for commodities or goodnesse of soile.* And this sparke (I say) so kindled in the hearts of those constant adventurers, that in the greatest disasters never fainted, which having past over so many foule and wearie steps, and seeing now so faire a way before them, bent all their wits and consultations how to second this good beginning of such a setled government. And after many meetings, when they could resolve upon no great supplie for want of meanes, the discouragement of many being such by former ill successe, yet in fine it was resolved; through the importunate zeale and forwardnesse of some, against the opinion of many without delay to furnish out Sir Thomas Gates with sixe shippes, three hundred men and an hundred kine, with other cattell, munition and provisions of all sorts; which notwithstanding it grew so deepe an engagement of our purses and credits, that for the present wee knew not how to discharge it, yet assuredly it hath proved (as wee hope) the most fortunate and happie steppe that ever our businesse tooke, and hath highly approved the wisdome and resolution of those worthy gentlemen that were the causers of it: and so at this period, as with a cleare evening to a cloudie day, I will put an end to this my first part of relating things already done and past.

The words of Sir Thomas Dales letter to the Committies.

Lord Generall Cecill, Sir Robert Mansel and some others.

The second part ensueth of the present estate of the businesse, upon which point I know that all mens eares are now most attent, for which I must be sparing to speake so much as might bee said, for surely men will not beleeve (through nature daily shew it in other courses) that in this case yet, so great a tide of

flowing should suddenly ensue so great an ebbe of want, in last December Captaine Newport in the Starre, and since that five other shippes are arived heere from the Colonie, by which we know that Sir Thomas Gates with his sixe shippes, men and cattell, safelie arived at James Towne, about the fine of August last, the suddaine approach of such an unlooked for supplie, did so amaze our people, when the Fort had first described the Fleete, and gave it out for enemies, that so soone as the newes went up the river to Sir Thomas Dale, he being a warlike and resolute Captaine, prepared him instantly and all the rest for an encounter, which by how much the suddaine apprehension perplexed their minds for the present, yet so much the more exceeded their comfort, when they knew them to be friends.

When they had all things well landed, and given thankes to God, the Knights and Captaines now began to frame the Colonie to a new conformitie, whereof the Lord Governour at his being there, most carefullie had more then laide the ground before, their first and chiefest care was shewed in settling Lawes divine and morall, for the honour and service of God, for daily frequenting the Church, the house of prayer, at the tolling of the bell, for preaching, catechizing, and the religious observation of the Sabbath day, for due reverence to the Ministers of the Word, and to all superiours, for peace and love among themselves, and enforcing the idle to paines and honest labours, against blasphemie, contempt and dishonour of God, against breach of the Sabbath by gaming: and otherwise against adulterie, sacriledge and felonie; and in a word, against all wrongfull dealing amongst themselves, or injurious violence against the Indians. Good are these beginnings, wherein God is thus before, good are these lawes, and long may they stand in their due execution. But what is this (will some object) if wholesome lodging, cloathing for the backe and bodilie foode be wanting, the bellie pincht with hunger cannot heare, though your charme be otherwise never so sweet. All this was true, we have already confest it, when there was nothing but a confused troope that sought their owne consumption, *tempora mutantur.*

You shall know that our Colonie consisteth now of seven hundred men at least, of sundrie arts and professions, some more or lesse, they stand in health, and few sicke, at the ships comming thence, having left the fort at Cape Henry, fortified and kept by Captaine Davies, and the keeping of James towne to that noble and well deserving Gentlemen Master George Percie. The Colonie is removed up the river fourscore miles further beyond James towne to a place of higher ground, strong and de-

He went thither five yeeres since in the first ship.

fencible by nature, a good aire, wholesome and cleere (unlike the marish seate at James towne) with fresh and plentie of water springs, much faire and open grounds freed from woods, and wood enough at hand.

Being thus invited, here they pitch, the spade men fell to digging, the brick men burnt their bricks, the company cut down wood, the Carpenters fell to squaring out, the Sawyers to sawing, the Souldier to fortifying, and every man to somewhat. And to answer the first objection for holesome lodging, here they have built competent and decent houses, the first storie all of bricks, that every man may have his lodging and dwelling place apart by himselfe, with a sufficient quantitie of ground alotted thereto for his orchard and garden to plant at his pleasure, and for his own use. Here they were building also an Hospitall with fourescore lodgings (and beds alreadie sent to furnish them) for the sicke and lame, with keepers to attend them for their comfort and recoverie. And as for their clothing, first of wollen (whereof they have least need, because the countrie is very warme) it is and must be alwaies supplied from hence, to the benefit of English clothing: but for linnen, which they shall most need, without doubt by small and easie industrie there may amount a great increase from thence, to furnish by way of merchandise, for England, not only by planting Hemp and Flax, which that climate maketh farre surpassing ours, both in growth and goodnesse, but by a new found stuffe of a certaine sedge or water flagge (revealed unto them by an Indian) which groweth there naturally in endlesse abundance, and with little paines of boyling, it being gathered, yeldeth great quantitie of sundrie sorts of skeines of good strength and length, some like silke, and some a courser sort, as hempe: whereof the last ships brought hither for a triall about two hundred pound waight; which being put to triall heere (as many can witnesse which have seene it) wil make cordage, linnen, and fine stuffes both for strength and beautie, such as no use nor service can finde the like of any other kinde.

And for the last and maine objection of food, it cannot be denied by any one of reason, but with their now diligent planting and sowing of corne whereof they have two harvests in a sommer) the plentifull fishing there, the store of fowles and fruits of the earth, their present provision sent from hence at every shipping, together with the speedy increase of those sundrie sorts of tame Poultry, Conies, Goats, Swine and Kine landed there above a yere agoe with Sir Thomas Dale, and since againe by Sir Thomas Gates, that this objection too, this maine objection of wanting food is utterly remooved: so that I cannot see, nor any man else can judge in truth, but that ill and odious wound

of Virginea, which setled so deepe a scarre in the mindes of many, in so sufficiently recovered, as it may now encourage not such alone (as heretofore) which cannot live at home, nor lay their bones to labour, but those of honest minds and better sort, which get their bread but meanly heere, may seak to mend it there. Captaine Samuel Argoll, a Gentleman of good service, is readie with two ships.

The Lord Governour himselfe is now preparing to goe in his owne person, and sundrie other Knights and Gentlemen, with ships and men, so farre as our meanes will extend to furnish: and for preventing that wrong, which some Masters and Stewards have formerly done to their passengers at sea, in shortening their allowance, for their owne private lucar, it is ordered that every ship upon her mast shall have it written, what ought to be every daies allowance, that every one may see it, and no man be defrauded. And thus much briefly for the present condition of this plantation.

Sir R. W.
Sir W. S.

It followes now to conclude with the third and last division directed to the Colonie: And first to you the heads and guides of that plantation, it cannot be doubted, but as you are wise and provident men you tooke this worke in hand, forecasting wisely that the price thereof might be no lesse then the care of your mindes, the labour of your bodies, and perill of your lives. And seeing you are sure of nothing more then the extremest lots, which either the barren coldnesse of such a naked action in the infancie thereof, or the malice of divellish men can cast upon you, arme your selves therefore against all impediments, to effect those honorable ends that were first intended *to be put upon our King, upon our nation, and Christian religion,* by that plantation. If the work be more hard and difficult then you took it for, and that you must like Hannibal (piercing the stony Alpes) make clare the way to your desired ends with fire and vineger; will not your honour be the greater, and your service more acceptable in the performance of it? Nay, if losse of life befall you by this service (which God forbid) yet in this case too, we doubt not but you are resolved with constant courage, like that noble King Henry the fift, before his triumphant victorie in the fields of Agincourt, where seeing the fewnesse of his own, and multitude of enemies, like a valiant Champion to stir up his little Armie against that great conflict; *Be cheered my hearts* (said he) *and let us fight like English men, all England prayeth for us: if here we dye, let this be our comfort, our cause is good, and wee have fathers, brothers, friends and countrimen that wil revenge our deaths.*

Your first conflict is from your savage enemies the natives of

the Countrie, who as you know are neither strong nor many; their strongest forces are sleights and trecherie, more to be warily prevented than much to be feared. But as for those your other friends, which challenge it all as theirs by deed of gift, not from Alexander the Great King of Macedonia, but from Alexander of Rome, Viceroy of that great Prince, which offered at once the whole world to have himselfe adored, which (as is said) doe brute it out in all mens eares to pull you out of possession; you know they are but men, and such as your selves can well remember, that in all attempts against our late Soveraigne, God defeated their purposes, and brought them to nothing. But howsoever it fared then, (God in mercy shielding that gratious Queen, that no attempt could touch her little finger, nor worke her least dishonour) yet I am no Prophet to warrant now, but God (for causes knowne to him) may give you as a prey into the hands of the weakest, yet herein rest assured, and it cannot possiblie bee otherwise, but that the zeale of this action hath discovered such and so many worthie spirits of all degrees in England to be upholders of it, as for their credits sake and reputation, will never leave you without convenient meanes to make defence, nor your least indignitie by savage foes or civil friends will suffer unrequited. There is laid upon you in this worke a threefold labour to be done upon your selves, upon your English, and upon the poore Indians. And first upon your selves; for all mens eares and eyes are so fixed upon Kings and Rulers, that they keepe a register in minde of what ever they doe or speake, the better sort of love to imitate their goodnes, and the looser sort of flatterie to applaud their wickednes and sooth them in their vices: when your wholesom lawes shall have no execution, when you shall publish and pretend for the honour of God, and good of the publike weale, and yet shall care for neither of both, but be loose in your owne course of life, giving way to ambition, idlenesse, and all unbridled appetite, to your tongues in swearing, to your bodies in unchastity, making your owne Courts and houses cages of proud, uncleane and all disordered persons, enforcing the good to pine away with grief, and advancing men of bad deserts, accounting it happie to doe what you list, when no man dares reprove you; miserie and confusion will be the end of this, and you shal leave for your monuments shame and dishonour behinde you to all posteritie.

Their wisdome is such as they will offer you no wrong.

But if, like wise and prudent guides, as we do rightly esteeme you, in rearing this great frame, you shall lay the foundation in your owne steps, and by your owne example shall teach your inferiours the feare of God, and by your modest recreations,

and commendable labours shall leade them on to doe the like, especially in that most wholesome, profitable and pleasant work of planting in which it pleased God himself to set the first man and most excellent creature Adam in his innocencie, to which the best Kings of Israel were most addicted, and by which so many kingdoms are much inriched, and for which the noble King Cirus that great Monarch is so much commended, whose glorie was to all ambassadors and forraine States (nothwithstanding his being a Souldier and a Conquerour of great employment) in shewing the comelie order of his owne handie worke. When thus your light shall guide their feete, sweete will that harmonie be betweene the head and members of the bodie, then may sleepe the rigour of your lawes, and you shal reseimble the best and wisest sort of Kings, which by the influence of their grace and love doe dailie cure consumptions, melancholies and evil effected mindes, as also make their hearts more honest and upright, and then that worke (though burnt as stubble heretofore) yet being thus grounded shal abide, you shall live in honour and die in peace; the succeeding ages of those converted Infidels shall count you happy, and that precious seed which you have sowne in teares, shal be as blessed sheaves upon your heads for ever.

The next is dutie towards your Colonie (the common sort of English) and that in few words, let them live as free English men, under the government of just and equall lawes, and not as slaves after the will and lust of any superiour: discourage them not in growing religious, nor in gathering riches, two especiall bonds (whether severed or conjoined) to keepe them in obedience, the one for conscience sake, the other for feare of losing what they have gotten: without the first they are prophane, without the second desperate, and apt for every factious plot to bee instruments of mischief. Such have alwaies bin the beggarly, ignorant and superstitious sort of Irish, and no better were we our English (and Scottish nation too) ever unquiet, never constant, readie for insurrections and murther, to depose their Kings, and maintaine rebellion, before the daies of that renowned Deborah our late Soveraigne, that shining starre, the splendour of whose brightnesse, darkned the glorie of all other Princes in her time (as even popish historians of sundrie forraine Nations tearme her) who brought us to that light, whereby wee live as men of knowledge in due subjection, enjoying honour, peace and wealth, the handmaids of religion. We must confesse as yet you are but poore, your companie few, and your meanes unable to effect those ends in any great measure. But for the first steppe, you have some Preachers there alreadie, and more wee intend to send you so soone

For which sort of men we wish we had better content to

give them, or they were more willing for the service.

as they may be provided. And for the second, the land is before you to dispose to every man for his house and ground, wherein to employ himselfe for his owne benefit, that no man may live idle nor unprofitable. And for their better incouragement in doing well, advance all such of best disposed life, and none but such: and though your preferments be not great, nor your Common-wealth setled, yet now is most need of these admonitions: for in the beginning and prime of your businesse, whiles you are but young and few those succeeding enormities of briberie, drunk ennesse and disordered life, may sooner be prevented, then having once got habite and footing amongst you they can be redressed: for if in laying now the ground worke of your businesse, you suffer it to be smothered up together with impunitie of vices, (as seeds and roots of noisome weeds) they will soon spring up to such corruption in all degrees as can never bee weded out.

And for the poore Indians what shall I say, but God that hath many waies shewed mercie to you, make you shew mercie to them and theirs. And howsoever they may seeme unto you so intollerable wicked and rooted in mischiefe, that they cannot be moved, yet consider rightly and be not discouraged, they are no worse than the nature of Gentiles, and even of those Gentiles so hainouslie decyphered by S. Paul to bee full of wickednesse, haters of God, doers of wrong, such as could never be appeased, and yet himselfe did live to see, that by the fruits of his owne labours, many thousands even of them became true beleeving Christians, and of whose race and offspring consisteth (well neere) the whole Church of God at this day. This is the worke that we first intended, and have publisht to the world to be chiefe in our thoughts to bring those infidell people from the worship of Divels to the service of God. And this is the knot that you must unite, or cut asunder, before you can conquer those sundrie impediments, that will surely hinder all other proceedings, if this be not first preferred.

Rom. 1.

Take their children and traine them up with gentlenesse, teach them our English tongue, and the principles of religion; winne the elder sort by wisdome and discretion, make them equal with your English in case of protection, wealth and habitation, doing justice on such as shall doe them wrong. Weapons of warre are needfull, I grant, but for defence only, and not in this case. If you seeke to gaine this victorie upon them by stratagems of warre, you shall utterly lose it, and never come neere it, but shall make your names odious to all their posteritie. In steed of Iron

and steele you must have patience and humanitie to manage their crooked nature to your form of civilitie: for as our proverbe is, Looke how you winne them, so you must weare them: if by way of peace and gentlenesse, then shall you alwaies range them in love to you wards, and in peace with your English people; and by proceeding in that way, shall open the springs of earthly benefits to them both, and of safetie to your selves.

Imitating the steppes of your wise and prudent Soveraigne, and preparing the way of peace (so much as lies in you) before the second comming of that King of peace, at whose first comming into this earthly region the world was all in peace, under the peaceable regiment of Augustus Cæsar, who though an unbeleeving Heathen, yet of such excellent morall vertues, as might set to schoole many Christian Kings and Rulers, whose care and studie for the safety, peace and Common-wealth of his Empire, gat him such honour in his life, and love of all his subjects, that being dead, his losse was so lamented with excesse of griefe and sorrow, but most amongst the Romanes, that they wisht to God hee had never been borne, or being borne, he might never have died.

And so I come to you that be the Adventurers here in England: with which I will conclude, it is not much above an hundred yeeres agoe, that these Adventures for discoveries were first undertaken by the Southerne parts of Christendome, but especially so seconded and followed by the Spanish nation both to the East and West Indies, that Mendoza (their countriman) in his treatise of Warre, extolleth King Philip and the Spanish nation above the skies, for seeking in such sort to inlarge their bounds by sea and land, seeming (as it were) with a secret scorne to set out the basenesse of our English and other nations in this, that they never intend any such attempts, but with a kind of sluggish contentment, doe account it their happinesse to keepe that poore little which they possesse. Indeed wee must acknowledge it, with praise to God, that when some of theirs had cast an evill eye upon our possessions, it was our happiness to prevent their longing, and to send them emptie home.

But for that other part of inlarging their bounds, Ireland.
in truth their praise is duly given, and well deserved; and it may justly serve to stirre us up by all our means to put off such reproachfull censures; and seeing when time did offer it, our nation lost the first opportunity of having all, yet now to make good that common speech, that English men are best at imitation, and doe soone excell their teachers.

It is knowne well enough to you, what need we have in this case to stirre up (if it were possible) our whole nation: for not-

withstanding wee have in our Letters Patents, the names of many Lords and Knights, Gentlemen, Marchants and others, able in truth to performe a greater matter than this, if we were al of one mind; but as they are many, so I may divide them as thus into three equall parts: The one third part are such as tooke liking of the plantation, and brought in one adventure, expecting a while till they saw some disasters to accompanie the businesse, they looked for present gaine, and so they gave it over, bidding it adiew, and never lookt after it more. Another third part are such as came in, and with their own hands did underwrite to furnish three adventures in three yeeres: whereof some few of them have paid the first paiment, but refuse to pay the rest; yet most of them, notwithstanding they are tied by their owne hand writing (whereby a very great charge was undertaken by the Companie) doe utterly refuse to make any paiment at all: which if it proceeded out of their povertie it were not so much to be blamed; for wee presse no man out of his inability to wrong himselfe: but these are of the greater sort, such as would scorne to have it said they offer wrong in hazarding the losse of all, and the lives of many men. I doubt not but some reasonable course will be taken by your honourable wisedomes to make them see their error: in the meane time, I know not how to call this kinde of dealing. But I remember of one that takes upon him to describe king Richard usurper, and comming to his visage, he saith it was sterne, such as in Kings we call warlike, but in meaner men crabbed. Surely if this kind of fast and loose were plaid by men of meaner sort, I could soone tell how to tearme it: but if you will needes have it warlike, in respect of their sterne refusall, yet let it be crabbed too, because of their sower lookes when they see the Collectors come for mony.

So that of all our Adventurers, I may well say there is but one third part, which (to their praise) from the first undertaking to this day have not ceased to give their counsels, spend their times, and lay downe their monies, omitting no occasion to expresse their zeale for effecting (if it may be possible) so great a worke for their King and Countries honour, as our nation never tooke the like in hand. And for this cause, the burthen being heavier than may well be borne by the shoulders of so few willing mindes, wee do still provoke our private friends, and have now obtained the helpe of publike Lotteries to maintaine the same. Which though it bee no usuall course in England, yet very common in divers neighbour countries, for the publike service of most commendable actions, wherein no man being compelled to adventure lots further than his owne liking, and being assured of direct and currant dealing, though all his lots come blanke; yet if his minde

be upright, he rests content in this, that his money goeth to a publike worke, wherein he hath his part of benefit, though he, never so meane and remote in his dwelling.

And if any man aske, what benefit can this plantation be to them that be no Adventurers therein, but only in the Lottery? First, we say, (setting aside their possibilitie of prize) what man so simple that doth not see the necessitie of employment for our multitude of people? which though they be our florishing fruits of peace and health, yet be they no longer good and holesome in themselves, then either our domesticke or forraine actions can make them profitable, or not hurtfull to the Common-wealth.

And as it is unpossible without this course of sending out the ofspring of our families, in so great a bodie of many millions, which yeerely doe increase amongst us, to prevent their manifold diseases of povertie, corruption of minde, and pestilent infection, so the burthen thereof in some proportion is felt by every man in his private calling, either in the taxe of their maintenance and daily reliefe, or in the taint of their vices and bodily plagues. And by this meanes only it may soone be eased, to the sensible good of every man, as in the greater safetie and freedom from infection, so in the price and plentie of all outward and necessarie things.

And besides the example of our neighbour countries, (that having laid their armes aside, and dwelling now in peace, to shunne the harmes of idlenesse at home, doe send out fleetes and hosts of men to seeke abroad) experience teacheth us, what need we have to seeke some world of new employment, for so great a part of our strength, which not otherwise knowing how to live, doe daily runne out to robberies at home, and piracies abroad, arming and serving with Turkes and Infidels against Christians, to the generall damage and spoile of Merchants, the scandall of our nation and reproch of Christian name. As also for the wits of England, whereof so many of unsettled braines betake themselves to plots and stratagems at home, or else to wander from coast to coast, from England to Spaine, to Italy, to Rome, and to wheresoever they may learne and practise any thing else but goodnesse, pulling a world of temptations upon their bad dispositions, sorting so farre with that inchanting sorts of serpents, and yeelding to their lure, till getting the marke and stampe in their forehead, they become desperate and despiteful fugitives abroad, or else returning neutrals in religion, are never good for Church nor Commonwealth.

Let the words of that learned Master Ascham witnesse in this case, who above twentie yeeres agone, having farre lesse cause of complaint then we have now, did publish his censure of those

English Italionate travellers in these words: *For religion, they get Papistrie, or worse: for learning, lesse commonly then they carried out: for policie, a factious heart, a discoursing head, a minde to meddle in all mens matters: for experience, plenty of new mischiefes, never knowne in England before: for manners, varietie of vanities, and change of filthy living. These be the inchantments of Circes, brought out of Italie to marre English mens manners, much by example of ill life, but more by precepts of fond bookes of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London, commended by honest titles, the sooner to corrupt honest manners, dedicated over boldly to vertuous and honourable personages, the easier to beguile simple and innocent wits. Tenne Sermons at Pauls crosse doe not so much good for moving men to true doctrine, as one of those bookes do harme with inticing men to ill living: yea, I say further, those bookes tend not so much to corrupt honest living, as they do to subvert true religion; more Papists made by the merrie bookes of Italie, then by the earnest bookes of Lovaine.*

24 page of teaching the bringing up of youth.

These and many more are the flowing evils of those noisome streames, that may be stopped, or turned from us (though not altogether (which is unpossible) yet in some proportion, for the common good of every man) by these new discoveries, into so great a world, never yet knowne, nor inhabited by Christian men: and though that part of Virginea, wherein we seate, be nothing to the rest, not yet discovered, yet it is enough to men of sense rightly considering, to make them confesse so much as I have said.

If any shall object, want of meanes, or inabilitie for the subjects of our King, to undertake so great a worke in those remote and desert countries, it were too injurious: For first it hath been done by others, to whom wee are no way inferiour for multitude, strength and means to doe the like: and secondly, our provocations are now more than ever they were. For touching our multitude of men, as I remember, and I assure my selfe I did see the note, and am not mistaken, in that great yeere of 88, here was billed for the first, second and third service of the Queene (if need had required) of able persons, thirtie hundred thousand of English, Welsh, and Cornish men; since which time it cannot otherwise be thought, and the great inlargement of townes and buildings shew that we have much increased, besides that happie addition since of an entire kingdome, being a warlike, wise, and a stout nation, that were then no members of us. And for strength of shipping, skilfull men and meanes to furnish greater

attempts then this, the world can witnesse (to the grief of some) that England hath no want at all. And for our provocations, what can be greater then from the highest? from God that hath given us the light of his word, that wee might enlighten this blind people: that did provide (when we despaired greatly and feared who should weld the Scepter) a King (with peerlesse branches) to sit over us in peace, whom the world cannot match, that hath bent his royall minde, and of his princely ofspring, to forward and advance the best and most approoved actions, athome and abroad, that hath given him to set his feete upon his enemies necks, and hath made the poyson of their infected * hearts to work their owne confusion, and the most bitter hearted adversarie to die for sorrow to see his prosperity: by which we are assured, that God doth reserve him to many excellent ends, and by whose wisedome we are daily invited under the shadow of our own vine, to repose ourselves in peace and rest.

In Scotland and England too.

* The powder men. Parsons, &c.

How are they thus dejected then in their honourable thoughts, so many both English men and Scottish, which seeme not like themselves, that to so infinit good ends, and notwithstanding the forcible inticements and powerfull meanes to effect the same, will yet sit still, and neither helpe on this, nor any like publike action, with their persons, purse nor counsell? How far is this unlike their ancient guise in former times, when for the name of Christ, and honour of their nations, they adventured thorow the world to winne it with the sword? Well, if they will needs so much forget themselves, let this suffice to conclude them as unprofitable members, emptying and keeping drie the fountaine at home, when with others they might seek to fill it from abroad; suffering the wealth of the world, of this new world, which is knowne to abound in treasure, if not to sleepe in the dust, yet to slide away, and there to settle; where it reviveth the spirit of that viprous brood, which seek to heale againe that wounded head of Rome, by instigating therewith and anointing the hornes of such, as when time shall serve, will seeke to pearce our hearts.

The English Jesuits, and others.

And if it be asked, what benefit shall any man reape, in liew of his disbursements, by that barren countrie, which hath so consumed all our employments? It hath been alreadie declared to the world in sundrie discourses, containing sufficient encouragement to men of understanding, and therefore not needfull heere to lay out againe, the undoubted certaintie of minerals, the rich and commodious meanes for shipping, and other materials of great use, which if they were not alreadie publisht, wee would

utterly forbeare to name, till (after the plantation setled) the effects and fruits should shew themselves. And besides al which things, that Nature hath already seated there, the soile and climate in so apt and fit for industrious mindes, to make plantation of só many pretious plants (as hath been likewise shewed in particular) for the use of mankind and trade of merchandise, as to the sense and reason of such as have seene it, no Countrie under heaven can goe beyond it.

And so to end with this that has been said, which if it may suffice to satisfie the ignorant, to stop the mouthes of cavillers, and to stirre up more assistance to this enterprise, it is enough: if not, I doe not doubt, but God who effecteth oft the greatest ends by smallest meanes, and hath so farre blest those few hands as to procure this birth, will likewise still assist the same to bring it up with honour. Proceed therefore you noble Lords, and you wise religious gentlemen, in your constant resolution, and in your dailie prayers remember it, for this worke is of such consequence, as for many important reasons it must never be forsaken.

And as you have not shrunke away, (with many such of worse condition, which before they see it effected by others will never adventure any thing) but (like that worthie Ramane Scipio, preserver of his Countrie, which when all the Romanes in that sudden feare of Hannibals approach threw off their armes to take themselves to flight, drew out his sword, and staied their running out, and ruine of the citie) have in your owne persons with exceeding paines, adventured in the most desperate condition thereof, to keep the work from ruine, and have set it in that hopefull way to subsist of it selfe, as whether you live or no, to see the fruits thereof on earth, yet your reward shall be with God: and for example to posteritie, in being the first props and pillars of the work, the records of time shall publish your praise; not stained with lies as the Legends of Saints, but as those renowned deeds of your noble ancestors, truly set out in our English stories, still living (as it were) and reaching out the hand, speaking to them that follow after, and telling to such as shall succeed, *This is the way for the honour of your King and your Countries good.*

FINIS.

THE BEGINNING,

PROGRESS, AND CONCLUSION

OF

BACON'S REBELLION

IN

VIRGINIA,

IN THE YEARS 1675 AND 1676.

WASHINGTON:
PRINTED BY PETER FORCE.

1835.

THIS Tract was first printed in the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, of the 1st, 5th and 8th of September, 1804, from an exact copy of the original manuscript, made by Mr. Jefferson, then President of the United States; and was accompanied by the following introductory notice, addressed to the Editor:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENQUIRER:

"THE original Manuscript, of which the small volume now sent you is a copy, was transmitted to the President of the United States, by Mr. King, our late Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of London, in a letter of December 20, 1803. It was purchased by Mr. King at the sale of the stock of one Collins, a Bookseller in London, and when received by the President, was carefully copied by him, and with his own hand. The pages and lines of the copy correspond with those of the original. The orthography, abbreviations, punctuation, and even interleneations are preserved, so that it is a fac simile, except as to the form of the letters. The two first are evidences of the age of the writing.

This copy was lately sent as a curious and interesting historical document, by the President to his venerable friend, Mr. Wythe, with a permission to the bearer to communicate its contents to the public.

The transaction recorded in this manuscript, although of little extent or consequence, is yet marked in the history of Virginia, as having been the only rebellion which took place in the Colony, during the 168 years of its existence preceding the American Revolution, and one hundred years exactly before that event.

The rebellion of Bacon, as it is improperly called, has been little understood, its cause and course being imperfectly explain-

ed by any authentic document hitherto possessed. This renders the present narrative of real value. It appears to have been written thirty years after the event took place, by a person intimately acquainted with its origin, progress, and conclusion. It was written, too, not for the public eye, but in compliance with the wish or curiosity of a British Minister, Lord Oxford. The candour and simplicity of the narrative cannot fail to command belief.

On the outside of the cover of the original MS. are the numbers 3947 and 5781. Very possibly the one may indicate the place it held in Lord Oxford's library, and the other its number on the catalogue of the bookseller, into whose hands it came before Mr. K. became the purchaser.

The Author says of himself, that he was a planter, that he lived in Northumberland, but was elected a member of Assembly, in 1676, for the County of Stafford, Col. Mason being his colleague, of which Assembly Col. Warner was Speaker, that it was the first and should be the last time of his meddling with public affairs, and he subscribes the initials of his name T. M. Whether the Records of the time, if they still exist, with the aid of these circumstances, will show what his name was, remains for further enquiry.

If this little book speaks the truth, Nathaniel Bacon will be no longer regarded as a rebel, but as a patriot. His name will be rescued from the infamy which has adhered to it for more than a century; the stigma of corruption, cruelty, and treachery, will be fixed on the administration by which he was condemned; and one more case will be added to those which prove, that insurrections proceed oftener from the misconduct of those in power, than from the factious and turbulent temper of the People."

To the right hono'ble ROBERT HARLEY, *esq'e. her Maj'ties Principal Secretary of State, and one of her most Hono'ble Privy Council.*

S'R.

The great honour of your command obliging my pen to step aside from it's habituall element of ffigures into this little treatise of history; which having never before experienced, I am like Sutor ultra crepidam and therefore dare pretend no more than *(*nakedly*)* to recount matters of ffact.

Beseeching yo'r hono'r will vouchsafe to allow, that in 30 years, divers occurrences are laps'd out of mind, and others imperfectly retained.

So as the most solemn obedience can be now paid, is to pursue the track of bare-fac'd truths, as close as my memory can recollect, to have seen, or believed, from credible ffriends, with concurring circumstances.

And whatsoever yo'r celebrated wisdom shall finde amisse in the composure, my intire dependence is upon yo'r candour favourably to accept these most sincere endeavo'rs of Yo'r Hono'rs

Most devoted humble ser't

T. M.

the 13 July, 1705.

THE

BEGINNING, PROGRESS AND CONCLUSION

OF

BACONS REBELLION

IN VIRGINIA,

IN THE YEARS 1675 & 1676.

About the year 1675, appear'd three prodigies in that country, which from th' attending disasters, were look'd upon as ominous presages.

The one was a large comet every evening for a week, or more at south-west; thirty five degrees high streaming like a horse taile westwards, untill it reach'd (almost) the horrison, and setting towards the northwest.

Another was, fflights of pigeons in breadth nigh a quarter of the midhemisphere, and of their length was no visible end; whose weights brake down the limbs of large trees whereon these rested at nights, of which the ffowlers shot abundance and eat 'em; this sight put the old planters under the more portentous apprehensions, because the like was seen (as they said) in the year 1640 when th' Indians committed the last massacre, but not after, untill that present year 1675.

The third strange appearance was swarms of fflyes about an inch long, and big as the top of a man's little finger, rising out of spigot holes in the earth, which eat the new sprouted leaves

from the tops of the trees without other harm, and in a month left us.

My dwelling was in Northumberland, the lowest county on Potomack river, Stafford being the upmost, where having also a plantation, servants, cattle &c, my overseer there had agreed with one Robt. Hen to come thither, and be my herdsman, who then lived ten miles above it; but on a Sabbath day morning in the sumer anno 1675. people in their way to church, saw this Hen lying thwart his threshold, and an Indian without the door, both chopt on their heads, arms and other parts, as if done with Indian hatchetts, th' Indian was dead, but Hen when ask'd who did that? answered Doegs Doegs, and soon died, then a boy came out from under a bed, where he had hid himself, and told them, Indians had come at break of day and done those murders.

Ffrom this Englishman's bloud did (by degrees) arise Bacons rebellion with the following mischiefs which overspread all Virginia and twice endangerd Maryland, as by the ensuing account is evident.

Of this horrid action Coll. Mason who commanded the militia regiment of ffoot and Capt. Brent the troop of horse in that county (both dwelling six or eight miles downwards) having speedy notice raised 30, or more men, and pursu'd those Indians 20 miles up and 4 miles over that river into Maryland, where landing at dawn of day they found two small paths each leader with his party took a separate path and in less than a furlong, either found a cabin, which they (silently) surrounded. Capt. Brent went to the Doegs cabin (as it proved to be) who speaking the Indian tongue called to have a "matchacomicha, weewhio" i. e. a councill called presently such being the usuall manner with Indians) the king came trembling forth, and wou'd have fled, when Capt. Brent, catching hold of his twisted lock (which was all the hair he wore) told him he was come for the murderer of Robt. Hen, the king pleaded ignorance and slipt loos, whom Brent shot dead with his pistoll, th' Indians shot two or three guns out of the cabin, th' English shot into it, th' Indians throng'd out at the door and fled, the English shot as many as they cou'd, so that they killed ten, as Capt. Brent told me, and brought away the kings son of about 8 years old, concerning whom is an observable passage, at the end of this expedition; the noise of this shooting awaken'd th' Indians in the cabin, which Coll. Mason had encompassed, who likewise rush'd out and fled, of whom his company (supposing from that noise of shooting Brent's party to be engaged) shott (as the Coll. informed me) ffourteen before an Indian came, who with both hands shook him (friendly) by

one arm saying Susquehanoughs nétoughs i. e. Susquehanough friends and fled, whereupon he ran amongst his men, crying out "ffor the Lords sake shoot no more, these are our friends the Susquehanoughs.

This unhappy scene ended; Collo. Mason took the king of the Doegs son home with him, who lay ten dayes in bed, as one dead, with eyes and mouth shutt, no breath discern'd, but his body continuing warm, they believed him yett alive; th' aforenamed Capt. Brent (a papist) coming thither on a visit, and seeing his little prisoner thus languishing said "perhaps he is pawewawd i. e. bewitch'd, and that he had heard baptism was an effectuall remedy against witchcraft wherefore advis'd to baptize him Collo. Mason answered, no minister cou'd be had in many miles; Brent replied yo'r clerk Mr. Dobson may do that office, which was done by the church of England liturgy; Coll. Mason with Capt. Brent godfather and Mrs. Mason godmother, my overseer Mr. Pimet being present, from whom I first heard it, and which all th' other persons (afterwards) affirm'd to me; the ffour men return'd to drinking punch, but Mrs. Mason staying and looking on the child, it open'd the eyes, and breath'd, whereat she ran for a cordial, which he took from a spoon, gaping for more and so (by degrees) recovered, tho' before his baptism, they had often tryed the same meanes but could not by no endeavours wrench open his teeth.

This was taken for a convincing proofe against infidelity.

But to return from this digression, the Susquehanoughs were newly driven from their habitations, at the head of Chesepiack bay, by the Cineca Indians, down to the head of Potomack, where they sought protection under the Pascataway Indians, who had a fort near the head of that river, and also were our ffriends.

After this unfortunate exploit of Mason and Brent, one or two being kill'd in Stafford, boats of war were equipt to prevent excursions over the river, and at the same time murders being (likewise) comitted in Maryland, by whom not known, on either side the river, both countrys raised their quota's of a thousand men, upon whose coming before the ffort, th' Indians sent out 4 of their great men, who ask'd the reason of that hostile appearance, what they said more or offered, I do not remember to have heard; but our two comanders caused them to be (instantly) slaine, after which the Indians made an obstinate resistance shooting many of our men, and making frequent, fierce and bloody salleyes, and when they were call'd to, or offered parley, gave no other answer, than "where are our four cockarouses, i. e. great men?

At the end of six weeks, march'd out seventy five Indians with their women children &c. who (by moonlight past our guards hallowing and firing att them without opposition, leaving 3 or 4 decrepits in the ffort.

The next morning th' English followed, but could not, or (for fear of ambuscades) would not overtake these desperate fugitives the number we lost in that siege I did not here was published.

The walls of this fort were high banks of earth, with fflankers having many loop-holes, and a ditch round all, and without this a row of tall trees fastned 3 foot deep in the earth, their bodies from 5 to 8 inches diameter, watled 6 inches apart to shoot through with the tops twisted together, and also artificially wrought, as our men could make no breach to storm it nor (being low land) coud they undermine it by reason of water neither had they cannon to batter itt, so that 'twas not taken, untill ffamine drove the Indians out of it.

These escap'd Indians (forsaking Maryland) took their rout over the head of that river, and thence over the heads of Rapahanock and York rivers, killing whom they found of th' upmost plantations untill they came to the head of James river, where (with Bacon and others) they slew Mr. Bacon's overseer, whom he much loved, and one of his servants, whose bloud hee vowed to revenge if possible.

In these frightfull times the most exposed small families withdrew into our houses of better numbers, which we fortified with pallisadoes and redoubts, neighbours in bodies joined their labours from each plantation to others alternately, taking their arms into the ffields, and setting centinels; no man stirr'd out of door unarm'd, Indians were (ever and anon) espied, three 4. 5. or 6 in a party lurking throughout the whole land, yet (what was remarkable) I rarely heard of any houses burnt, though abundance was forsaken, nor ever, of any corn or tobacco cut up, or other injury done, besides murders, except the killing a very few cattle and swine.

Frequent complaints of bloodsheds were sent to S'r Wm. Berkeley (then Govern'r) from the heads of the rivers, which were as often answered with promises of assistance.

These at the heads of James and York rivers (having now most people destroyed by the Indians fflght thither from Potomack) grew impatient at the many slaughters of their neighbours and rose for their own defence, who chusing Mr. Bacon for their leader sent oftentimes to the Govern'r, humbly beseeching a comission to go against those Indians at their own charge which his hono'r as often promisd but did not send; the misteryes of these delays, were wondred at and which I ne're heard any coud

penetrate into, other than the effects of his passion, and a new (not to be mentioned) occasion of avarice, to both which, he was (by the comon vogue) more than a little addicted: whatever were the popular surmizes and murmurings, vizt.

"that no bullets would pierce bever skins.

"rebbells forfeitures would be loyall inheritances &c.

During these protractions and people often slaine, most or all the officers, civill and military with as many dwellers next the heads of the rivers as made up 300 men taking Mr. Bacon for their coman'r, met, and concerted together, the danger of going without a comiss'n on the one part, and the continuall murders of their neighbors on th' other part (not knowing whose or how many of their own turns might be next) and came to this resolution vizt. to prepare themselves with necessaries for a march, but interim to send again for a comission, which if could or could not be obteyned by a certaine day, they woud proceed comission or no comission.

This day lapsing and no com'n come, they march'd into the wilderness in quest of these Indians after whom the Govern'r sent his proclamacon, denouncing all rebells, who shoud not return within a limited day, whereupon those of estates obey'd; but Mr. Bacon with 57 men proceded untill their provisions were near spent, without finding enemy's when coming nigh a ffort of ffriend Indians, on th' other side a branch of James river, they desired reliefe offering paym't. which these Indians kindly promised to help them with on the morrow, but put them off with promises untill the third day, so as having then eaten their last morsells they could not return, but must have starved in the way homeward and now 'twas suspected, these Indians had received private messages from the Governo'r. and those to be the causes of these delusive procrastinations; whereupon the English waded shoulder deep thro' that branch to the ffort pallisado's still intreating and tendering pay, for victuals; but that evening a shot from the place they left on the other side of that branch kill'd one of Mr. Bacon's men, which made them believe, those in the ffort had sent for other Indians to come behind 'em and cut 'em off.

Hereupon they fired the palisado's, storm'd & burnt the ffort and cabins, and (with the losse of three English) slew 150 Indians.

The circumstances of this expedicn Mr. Bacon entertain'd me with, at his own chamber, on a visit I made him, the occasion whereof is hereafter menconed.

Ffrom hence they return'd home where writts were come up to elect members for an assembly, when Mr. Bacon was unani-

mously chosen for one, who coming down the river was comanded by a ship with guns to come on board, where waited Major Hone the high sheriff of Jamestown ready to seize him, by whom he was carried down to the Govern'r and by him receiv'd with a suprizing civillity in the following words " Mr. Bacon have you forgot to be a gentleman. No, may it please yo'r hon'r answer'd Mr. Bacon; then replyed the Gover'r I'll take yo'r parol, and gave him his liberty in March 1675-6 writts came up to Stafford to choose their two members for an assembly to meet in May; when Collo. Mason Capt. Brent and other gentlemen of that county, invited me to stand a candidate; a matter I little dreamt of, having never had inclinacons to tamper in the precarious intrigues of govern't. and my hands being full of my own business; they preas't severall cogent argum'ts. and I having considerable debts in that county, besides my plantation concerns, where (in one and th' other) I had much more severely suffered, than any of themselves by th' Indian disturbances in the sumer and winter foregoing I held it not (then) discreet to disoblige the rulers of it, so Coll. Mason with myself were elected without objection, he at time convenient went on horseback; I took my sloop and the morning I arriv'd to James town after a weeks voyage, was welcom'd with the strange acclamations of All's over Bacon is taken, having not heard at home of the southern comotions, other than rumours like idle tales, of one Bacon risen up in rebellion, no body knew for what, concerning the Indians.

The next forenoon, th' assembly being met in a chamber over the generall court & our Speaker chosen, the govern'r sent for us down, where his hono'r with a pathetic emphasis made a short abrupt speech wherein were these words.

" If they had killed my grandfather and grandmother, my father and mother and all my friends, yet if they had come to treat of peace, they ought to have gone in peace and sat down.

The two chief comanders at the forementioned siege, who slew the ffour Indian great men, being present and part of our assembly.

The govern'r stood up againe and said " if there be joy in the presence of the angels over one sinner that repenteth, there is joy now, for we have a penitent sinner come before us, call Mr. Bacon; then did Mr. Bacon upon one knee at the bar deliver a sheet of paper confessing his crimes, and begging pardon of God the king and the govern'r. whereto (after a short pause) he answered " God forgive you, I forgive you, thrice repeating the same words; when Collo. Cole (one of the councill) said, " and all that were with him, Yea, said the govern'r and all that were

with him, twenty or more persons being then in irons who were taking coming down in the same and other vessels with Mr. Bacon.

About a minute after this the govern'r starting up from his chair a third time said " Mr. Bacon! if you will live civilly but till next quarter court (doubling the words) but till next quarter court, Ile promise to restore you againe to yo'r place there pointing with his hand to Mr. Bacons seat, he having been of the councill before these troubles, tho' he had been a very short time in Virginia but was deposed by the foresaid proclamacon, and in th' afternoon passing by the court door, in my way up to our chamber, I saw Mr. Bacon on his quondam seat with the govern'r and councill, which seemed a marveilous indulgence to one whom he had so lately proscribed as a rebell.

The govern'r had directed us to consider of meanes for security from th' Indian insults and to defray the charge &c. advising us to beware of two rogues amongst us, naming Laurence and Drumond both dwelling at Jamestown and who were not at the Pascataway siege.

But at our entrance upon businesse, some gentlemen took this opportunity to endeavor the redressing several grievances the country then labour'd under, motions were made for inspecting the publick revenues, the collectors accompts &c. and so far was proceeded as to name part of a comittee whereof Mr. Bristol (now in London) was and myself another, when we were interrupted by pressing messages from the govern'r to medle with nothing, until the Indian business was dispatch't.

This debate rose high, but was overruled and I have not heard that those inspections have since then been insisted upon, tho' such of that indigent people as had no benefits from the taxes groand under our being thus overborn.

The next thing was a comittee for the Indian affaires, whereof in appointing the members, myself was unwillingly nominated having no knowledge in martiall preparations, and after our names were taken, some of the house moved for sending 2 of our members to intreat the govern'r wou'd please to assign two of his councill to sit with, and assist us in our debates, as had been usuall.

When seeing all silent looking each at other with many discontented faces, I adventur'd to offer my humble opinion to the speaker " for the comittee to form methods as agreeable to the sense of the house as we could, and report 'em whereby they would more clearly see, on what points to give the govern'r and councill that trouble if perhaps it might bee needfull.

These few words rais'd an uproar, one party urging hard "it had been customary and ought not to be omitted; whereto Mr. Presly my neighbour an old assembly man, sitting next me, rose up, and (in a blundering manner replied) "tis true, it has been customary, but if we have any bad customes amongst us, we are come here to mend 'em which set the house in a laughter.

This was huddl'd off without coming to a vote, and so the comittee must submit to be overaw'd, and have every carpt at expression carried streight to the governor.

Our comittee being sat, the Queen of Pamunky (descended from Oppechankenough a former Emperor of Virginia) was introduced, who entred the chamber with a comportment gracefull to admiration, bringing on her right hand an Englishman interpreter, and on the left her son a stripling twenty years of age, she having round her head a plat of black and white wampum peague three inches broad in imitation of a crown, and was cloathed in a mantle of dress't deer skins with the hair outwards and the edge cut round 6 inches deep which made strings resembling twisted frenge from the shoulders to the feet; thus with grave courtlike gestures and a majestick air in her face, she walk'd up our long room to the lower end of the table, where after a few intreaties she sat down; th' interpreter and her son standing by her on either side as they had walked up, our chairman asked her what men she woud lend us for guides in the wilderness and to assist us against our enemy Indians, she spake to th' interpreter to inform her what the chairman said, (tho' we believed she understood him) he told us she bid him ask her son to whom the English tongue was familiar, and who was reputed the son of an English colonel, yet neither woud he speak to or seem to understand the chairman but th' interpreter told us, he referred all to his mother, who being againe urged she after a little musing with an earnest passionate countenance as if tears were ready to gush out and a fervent sort of expression made a harangue about a quarter of an hour often, interlacing (with a high shrill voice and vehement passion) these words "Tatapatamoi Chepiack, i. e. Tatapamoi dead Coll. Hill being next me, shook his head, I ask'd him what was the matter, he told me all she said was too true to our shame, and that his father was generall in that battle, where diverse years before Tatapatamoi her husband had led a hundred of his Indians in help to th' English against our former enemy Indians, and was there slaine with most of his men; for which no compensation (at all) had been to that day rendered to her wherewith she now upbraided us.

Her discourse ending and our morose chairman not advancing

one cold word towards asswaging the anger and grief her speech and demeanour manifested under her oppression, nor taking any notice of all she had said, neither considering that we (then) were in our great exigency, supplicants to her for a favour of the same kind as the former, for which we did not deny the having been so ingrate, he rudely push'd againe the same question "what Indians will you now contribute, &c.? of this disregard she signified her resentment by a disdainfull aspect, and turning her head half aside, sate mute till that same question being press'd, a third time, she not returning her face to the board, answered with a low slighting voice in her own language "six, but being further importun'd she sitting a little while sullen, without uttering a word between said "twelve, tho' she then had a hundred and fifty Indian men, in her town, and so rose up and gravely walked away, as not pleased with her treatment.

Whilst some daies passed in setling the quota's of men arms and amunicon provisions &c. each county was to furnish, one morning early a bruit ran about the town Bacon is fled, Bacon is fled, whereupon I went straight to Mr. Lawrence, who (formerly) was of Oxford university, and for wit learning and sobriety was equall'd there by few, and who some years before (as Col. Lee tho' one of the councill and a friend of the govern'rs inform'd me) had been partially treated at law, for a considerable estate on behalf of a corrupt favourite; which Lawrence complaining loudly of, the govern'r bore him a grudge and now shaking his head, said, "old treacherous villain, and that his house was scarcht that morning, at day break, but Bacon was escaped into the country, having intimation that the governor's generosity in pardoning him, and his followers and restoring him to his seat in councill, were no other than previous weadles to amuse him and his adherents and to circumvent them by stratagem, forasmuch as the taking Mr. Bacon again into the councill was first to keep him out of the assembly, and in the next place the govern'r knew the country people were hastning down with dreadfull threatnings to double revenge all wrongs shoud be done to Mr. Bacon or his men, or whoever shou'd have had the least hand in 'em.

And so much was true that this Mr. young Nathaniel Bacon (not yet arrived to 30 yeares) had a nigh relation namely Col. Nathaniel Bacon of long standing in the councill a very rich politick man, and childless, designing this kinsman for his heir, who (not without much paines) had prevailed with his uneasy cusin to deliver the forementioned written recantation at the bar, having compiled it ready to his hand and by whose meanes 'twas

supposed that timely intimation was conveyed to the young gentleman to flee for his life, and also in 3 or 4 daies after Mr. Bacon was first seiz'd I saw abundance of men in town come thither from the heads of the rivers, who finding him restor'd and his men at liberty, return'd home satisfied; a few daies after which the govern'r seeing all quiet, gave out private warrants to take him againe, intending as was thought to raise the militia, and so to dispose things as to prevent his friends from gathering any more into a like numerous body and coming down a second time to save him.

In three or ffour daies after this escape, upon news that Mr. Bacon was 30 miles up the river, at the head of four hundred men, the govern'r sent to the parts adjacent, on both sides James river for the militia and all the men could be gotten to come and defend the town, express's came almost hourly of th' army's approaches, who in less than 4 daies after the first account of 'em att 2 of the clock entered the town, without being withstood, and form'd a body upon a green, not a flight shot from the end of the state house of horse and ffoot, as well regular as veteran troops, who forthwith possest themselves of all the avenues, disarming all in town, and coming thither in boats or by land.

In half an hour after this the drum beat for the house to meet, and in less than an hour more Mr. Bacon came with a file of ffusileers on either hand near the corner of the state house where the govern'r and councill went forth to him; we saw from the window the govern'r open his breast, and Bacon strutting betwixt his two files of men with his left arm on Kenbow flinging his right arm every way both like men distracted; and if in this moment of fury, that enraged multitude had faln upon the govern'r and council we of the assembly expected the same imediate fate; I stept down and amongst the crowd of spectators found the seamen of my sloop, who pray'd me not to stir from them, when in two minutes, the govern'r walk'd towards his private apartm't. a coits cast distant at th' other end of the state house, the gentlemen of the council following him, and after them walked Mr. Bacon with outragious postures of his head arms body, and leggs, often tossing his hand from his sword to his hat and after him came a detachment of ffusileers (musketts not being there in use) who with their cocks bent presented their ffusils at a window of the assembly chamber filled with faces, repeating with menacing voices " we will have it, we will have itt, half a minute when as one of our house a person known to many of them, shook his handkercher out at the window, saying you shall have it, you shall have itt, 3 or 4 times; at these words they sate down their

fusils unbent their locks and stood still untill Bacon coming back, followed him to their main body; in this hubub a servant of mine got so nigh as to hear the govern'rs words, and also followed Mr. Bacon, and heard what he said, who came and told me, that when the govern'r opened his breast he said "here! shoot me, foregod fair mark shoot, often rehearsing the same, without any other words; whereto Mr. Bacon answer'd "no may it please yo'r hono'r we will not hurt a hair of yo'r head, nor of any other mans, we are come for a comission to save our lives from th' Indians, which you have so often promised, and now we will have it before we go.

But when Mr. Bacon followed the govern'r and councill with the forementioned impetuos (like delirious) actions whil'st that party presented their ffusils at the window full of ffaces, he said "Dam my bloud I'le kill govern'r councill assembly and all, and then I'le sheath my sword in my own heart's bloud; and afterwards 'twas said Bacon had given a signall to his men who presented their fusils at those gasing out at the window, that if he shoud draw his sword, they were on sight of it to fire, and slay us, so near was the masacre of us all that very minute, had Bacon in that paroxism of phrentick fury but drawn his sword before the pacifick handkercher was shaken out at window.

In an hour or more after these violent concussions Mr. Bacon came up to our chamber and desired a comission from us to go against the Indians; our speaker sat silent, when one Mr. Blayton a neighbor to Mr. Bacon and elected with him a member of assembly for the same county (who therefore durst speak to him) made answer, "'twas not in our province, or power, nor of any other, save the king's vicegerent our govern'r, he press'd hard nigh half an hours harangue on the preserving our lives from the Indians, inspecting the publick revenues, th' exorbitant taxes and redressing the grievances and calamities of that deplorable country, whereto having no other answer, he went away dissatisfied.

Next day there was a rumour the govern'r and councill had agreed Mr. Bacon shou'd have a comission to go generall of the fforces, we then were raising, whereupon I being a member for Stafford, the most northern frontier, and where the war begun, considering that Mr. Bacon dwelling in the most southern ffrontier county, might the less regard the parts I represented, I went to Coll. Cole (an active member of the councill) desiring his advise, if applicacons to Mr. Bacon on that subject were then seasonable and safe, which he approving and earnestly advising I went to Mr. Lawrence who was esteemed Mr. Bacons principall consultant, to whom he took me with him, and there left me

where I was entertained 2 or 3 hours with the particular relacons of diverse before recited transactions; and as to the matter I spake of, he told me, that th' govern'r had indeed promised him the comand of the forces, and if his hon'r shou'd keep his word (which he doubted) he assured me "the like care shoud be taken of the remotest corners in the land, as of his own dwelling-house, and pray'd me to advise him what persons in those parts were most fit to bear comands I frankly gave him my opinion that the most satisfactory gentlemen to govern'r and people, would be comanders of the militia, wherewith he was well pleased, and himself wrote a list of those nominated.

That evening I made known what had past with Mr. Bacon to my colleague Coll. Mason (whose bottle attendance doubled my task) the matter he liked well, but questioned the govern'rs approbacon of it.

I confess'd the case required sedate thoughts, reasoning, that he and such like gentlemen must either comand or be comanded, and if on their denials Mr. Bacon should take distaste, and be constrained to appoint comanders out of the rabble, the govern'r himself with the persons and estates of all in the land woud be at their dispose, whereby their own ruine might be owing to themselves; in this he agreed and said "If the govern'r woud give his own comission he would be content to serve under generall Bacon (as now he began to be intituled) but first woud consult other gentlemen in the same circumstances; who all concur'd 'twas the most safe barier in view against pernicious designes, if such shoud be put in practice; with this I acquainted Mr. Lawrence who went (rejoicing) to Mr. Bacon with the good tidings, that the militia comanders were inclined to serve under him, as their generall, in case the governor woud please to give them his own comissions.

Wee of the house proceeded to finish the bill for the war, which by the assent of the govern'r and councill being past into an act the govern'r sent us a letter directed to his majesty, wherein were these words "I have above 30 years governed the most flourishing country the sun ever shone over, but am now encompassed with rebellion like waters in every respect like to that of Massanello except their leader, and of like import was the substance of that letter. But we did not believe his hono'r sent us all he wrote to his majesty.

Some judicious gentlemen of our house likewise penn'd a letter or remonstrance to be sent his maj'tie setting forth the gradations of those erupcons, and two or three of them with Mr. Minge our clerk brought it me to compile a few lines for

the conclusion of it, which I did (tho' not without regret in those watchfull times, when every man had eyes on him, but what I wrote was with all possible deference to the govern'r and in the most soft terms my pen cou'd find the case to admit.

Col. Spencer being my neighbour and intimate friend, and a prevalent member in the councill I pray'd him to intreat the govern'r we might be dissolved, for that was my first and shoud be my last going astray from my wonted sphere of merchandize and other my private concernments into the dark and slippery meanders of court embarrassments, he told me the govern'r had not (then) determined his intention, but he wou'd move his hono'r about itt, and in 2 or 3 dayes we were dissolved, which I was most heartily glad of, because of my getting loose againe from being hampered amongst those pernicious entanglem'ts in the labyrinths and snares of state ambiguities, and which untill then I had not seen the practice nor the dangers of, for it was observ'd that severall of the members had secret badges of distinction fixt upon 'em, as not docill enough to gallop the future races, that court seem'd dispos'd to lead 'em, whose maximes I had oft times heard whisper'd before, and then found confirm'd by diverse considerate gentlem'n vizt. "that the wise and the rich were prone to ffaction and sedition but the fools and poor were easy to be governed.

Many members being met one evening nigh sunsett, to take our leaves each of other, in order next day to return homewards, came Genll. Bacon with his hand full of unfolded papers and overlooking us round, walking in the room said "which of these gentlem'n shall I intreat to write a few words for me where every one looking aside as not willing to meddle; Mr. Lawrence pointed at me saying "that gentlemen writes very well which I endeavouring to excuse, Mr. Bacon came stooping to the ground and said "pray Sir do me the hon'r to write a line for me.

This surprizing accostm't shockt me into a melancholy consternation, dreading upon one hand, that Stafford county would feel the smart of his resentment, if I should refuse him whose favour I had so lately sought and been generously promis'd on their behalf; and on th' other hand fearing the govern'rs displeasure who I knew woud soon hear of it: what seem'd most prudent at this hazadous dilemma, was to obviate the present impending peril; so Mr. Bacon made me sit the whole night by him filling up those papers, which I then saw were blank comissions sign'd by the govern'r incerting such names and writing other matters as he dictated; which I took to be the happy effects of the consult before mentioned, with the comanders of the militia because

he gave me the names of very few others to put into these comissions, and in the morning he left me with an hours worke or more to finish, when came to me Capt. Carver, and said he had been to wait on the Generall for a comission, and that he was resolved to adventure his old bones against the Indian rogues with other the like discourse, and at length told me that I was in mighty favour———and he was bid to tell me, that whatever I desired in the general's power, was at my service, I pray'd him humbly to thank his hon'r and to acquaint him I had no other boon to crave, than his promis'd kindnesse to Stafford county, for beside the not being worthy, I never had been conversant in military matters, and also having lived tenderly, my service cou'd be of no benefit because the hardships and fatigues of a wilderness campaigne would put a speedy period to my daies little expecting to hear of more intestine broiles, I went home to Patomack, where reports were afterwards various: we had account that Generall Bacon was march'd with a thousand men into the fforest to seek the enemy Indians, and in a few daies after our next news was, that the govern'r had sumoned together the militia of Glocester and Middlesex counties to the number of twelve hundred men, and proposed to them to follow and suppress that rebell Bacon; whereupon arose a murmuring before his face " Bacon Bacon Bacon, and all walked out of the field, muttering as they went " Bacon Bacon Bacon, leaving the governor and those that came with him to themselves, who being thus abandon'd wafted over Chesepiacke bay 30 miles to Occomack where are two countres of Virginia.

Mr. Bacon hearing of this came back part of the way, and sent out parties of horse patrolling through every county, carrying away prisoners all whom he distrusted might any more molest his Indian prosecucon yet giving liberty to such as pledg'd him their oaths to return home and live quiet; the copies or contents of which oaths I never saw, but heard were very strict, tho' little observed.

About this time was a spie detected pretending himself a deserter who had twice or thrice come and gone from party to party and was by councill of warr sentenced to death, after which Bacon declared openly to him " that if any one man in the army wou'd speak a word to save him, he shou'd not suffer, which no man appearing to do, he was executed, upon this manifestation of clemency Bacon was applauded for a mercifull man, not willing to spill Christian bloud, nor indeed was it said, that he put any other man to death in cold bloud, or plunder any house; nigh the same time came Maj. Langston with his troop of horse

and quartered two nights at my house who (after high compliments from the generall) told me I was desired "to accept the lieutenancy for preserving the peace in the s. northern counties betwixt Potomack and Rappahannock rivers, I humbly thank'd his hon'r excusing myself; as I had done before on that invitation of the like nature at Jamestown, but did hear he was mightily offended at my evasions and threatened to remember me.

The govern'r made a 2d attempt coming over from Accomack with what men he could procure in sloops and boats forty miles up the river to Jamestown, which Bacon hearing of, came againe down from his fforest persuit, and finding a bank not a flight shot long, cast up thwart the neck of the peninsula there in Jamestown, he stormed it, and took the town, in which attack were 12 men slaine and wounded but the govern'r with most of his followers fled back, down the river in their vessells.

Here resting a few daies they concerted the burning of the town, wherein Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Drumond owning the two best houses save one, set fire each to his own house, which example the souldiers following laid the whole town (with church and state-house) in ashes, saying, the rogues should harbour no more there.

On these reiterated molestacons Bacon calls a convention at Midle plantation 15 miles from Jamestown in the month of August 1676, where an oath with one or more proclamations were formed, and writts by him issued for an assembly; the oaths or writts I never saw, but one proclamation comanded all men in the land on pain of death to joine him, and retire into the wildernesse upon arivall of the forces expected from England, and oppose them untill they shoud propose or accept to treat of an accomodation, which we who lived comfortably could not have undergone, so as the whole land must have become an Aceldama if God's exceeding mercy had not timely removed him.

During these tumults in Virginea a 2d danger menaced Maryland by an insurrection in that province, complaining of their heavy taxes &c. where 2 or 3 of the leading malecontents (men otherwise of laudable characters) were put to death, which stifled the father spreading of that flame, Mr. Bacon (at this time) press't the best ship in James river carrying 20 guns and putting into her his lieutenant generall Mr. Bland (a gentleman newly come thither from England to possesse the estate of his deceased uncle late of the council) and under him the forementioned Capt. Carver formerly a comander of merch'ts ships with men and all necessaries, he sent her to ride before Accomack to curb

and intercept all smaller vessells of war comission'd by the govern'r coming often over and making depredations on the western shoar, as if we had been fforreign enemies, which gives occasion to this place to digresse a few words.

Att first assembly after the peace came a message to them from the govern'r for some marks of distinction to be sett on his loyal friends of Accomack, who received him in his adversity which when came to be consider'd Col. Warner (then speaker) told the house "ye know that what mark of distinction his hon'r coud have sett on those of Accomack unlesse to give them earmarks or burnt marks for robbing and ravaging honest people, who stay'd at home and preserv'd the estates of those who ran away, when none intended to hurt 'em.

Now returning to Capt. Carver the govern'r sent for him to come on shoar, promising his peaceable return, who answer'd, he could not trust his word, but if he woud send his hand and seal, he wou'd adventure to wait upon his hono'r which was done, and Carver went in his sloop well armed and man'd with the most trusty of his men where he was caress'd with wine &c. and large promises, if he would forsake Bacon, resigne his ship or joine with him; to all which he answer'd that "if he served the Devill he woud be true to his trust, but that he was resolved to go home and live quiet.

In the time of this recepcon and parley, an armed boat was prepared with many oars in a creek not far off, but out of sight, which when Carver sail'd, row'd out of the creek, and it being almost calm the boat outwent the sloop whilst all on board the ship were upon the deck, staring at both, thinking the boats company coming on board by Carvers invitation to be civilly entertained in requitall of the kindness (they supposed he had received on shoar, untill coming under the stern, those in the boat slipt nimbly in at the gun room ports with pistols &c. when one couragious gentleman ran up to the deck, and clapt a pistoll to Blands breast, saying you are my prisoner, the boats company suddainly following with pistolls swords &c. and after Capt. Larimore (the comander of the ship before she was prest) having from the highest and hindmost part of the stern interchang'd a signal from the shoar by flirting his handkercher about his nose, his own former crew had laid handspikes ready, which they (at that instant) caught up &c. so as Bland and Carvers men were amazed and yielded.

Carver seeing a hurly burly on the ships deck, would have gone away with his sloop, but having little wind and the ship threatning to sink him, he tamely came on board, where Bland

and he with their party were laid in irons and in 3 or 4 daies Carver was hang'd on shoar, which Sir Henry Chicheley the first of the councill then a prisoner, (with diverse other gentlemen) to Mr. Bacon, did afterwards exclaim against as a most rash and wicked act of the govern'r. he (in particular) expecting to have been treated by way of reprizall, as Bacons friend Carver had been by the govern'r. Mr. Bacon now returns from his last expedicon sick of a fflux; without finding any enemy Indians, having not gone far by reason of the vexations behind him, nor had he one dry day in all his marches to and fro in the fforest whilst the plantations (not 50 miles distant) had a sumer so dry as stinted the Indian corn and tobacco &c. which the people ascribed to the pawawings i. e. the sorceries of the Indians, in a while Bacon dyes and was succeeded by his Lieuten't Genll. Ingram, who had one Wakelet next in comand under him, whereupon hasten'd over the govern'r to York river, and with him they articled for themselves and whom else they could, and so all submitted and were pardoned exempting those nominated and otherwise proscribed, in a proclamacon of indempnity, the principall of whom were Lawrence and Drumond.

Mr. Bland was then a prisoner having been taken with Carver, as before is noted, and in few daies Mr. Drumond was brought in, when the govern'r being on board a ship came imediately to shore and complimented him with the ironicall sarcasm of a low bend, saying "Mr. Drumond! you are very welcome, I am more glad to see you, than any man in Virginia, Mr. Drumond you shall be hang'd in half an hour; who answered what yo'r hon'r pleases, and as soon as a council of war cou'd meet, his sentence be dispatcht and a gibbet erected (which took up near two houses) he was executed.

This Mr. Drumond was a sober Scotch gentleman of good repute with whome I had not a particular acquaintance, nor do I know the cause of that rancour his hono'r had against him, other than his pretensions in comon for the publick but meeting him by accident the morning I left the town, I advis'd him to be very wary, for he saw the govern'r had put a brand upon him he (gravely expressing my name) answered "I am in over shoes, I will be over boots, which I was sorry to heare and left him.

The last account of Mr. Lawrence was from an uppermost plantation, whence he and ffour others desperado's with horses pistolls &c. march'd away in a snow ancle deep, who were thought to have cast themselves into a branch of some river, rather than to be treated like Drumond.

Bacons body was so made away, as his bones were never

found to be exposed on a gibbet as was purpos'd, stones being laid in his coffin, supposed to be done by Lawrence.

Near this time arrived a small ffleet with a regiment from England S'r John Berry admirall, Col. Herbert Jefferies comander of the land forces and Collo. Morrison who had one year been a former govern'r. there, all three joined in comission with or to S'r William Barclay, soon after when a generall court and also an assembly were held, where some of our former assembly (with so many others) were put to death, diverse whereof were persons of honest reputations and handsome estates, as that the assembly petitioned the governour to spill no more bloud, and Mr. Presley at his coming home told me, he believed the govern'r would have hang'd half the countrey, if they had let him alone. The first was Mr. Bland whose ffriends in England had procured his pardon to be sent over with the ffleet, which he pleaded at his tryall, was in the govern'rs pocket (tho' whether 'twas so, or how it came there, I know not, yet did not hear 'twas openly contradicted,) but he was answered by Coll. Morrison that he pleaded his pardon at swords point, which was look'd upon an odd sort of reply, and he was executed; (as was talked) by private instructions from England the Duke of York having sworn "by God Bacon and Bland shoud dye.

The govern'r went in the ffleet to London (whether by comand from his majesty or spontaneous I did not hear) leaving Col. Jefferyes in his place, and by next shipping came back a person who waited on his hono'r in his voyage, and untill his death, from whom a report was whisper'd about, that the king did say "that old fool has hang'd more men in that naked country, than he had done for the murther of his ffather, whereof the governo'r hearing dyed soon after without having seen his majesty; which shuts up this tragedy.

APPENDIX.

To avoid incumbering the body of the foregoing little discourse, I have not therein mentioned the received opinion in Virginia, which very much attributed the promoting these perturbacons to Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Bacon with his other adherents, were esteemed, as but wheels agitated by the weight of his former and present resentments, after their choler was raised up to a very high pitch, at having been (so long and often) trifled with on their humble supplications to the govern'r for his imediate taking in hand the most speedy meanes towards stopping the continued effusions of so much English bloud, from time to time by the Indians; which comon sentim'ts I have the more reason to believe were not altogether groundlesse, because myself have heard him (in his familiar discourse) insinuate as if his fancy gave him prospect of finding (at one time or other) some expedient not only to repaire his great losse, but therewith to see those abuses rectified that the countrey was oppressed with through (as he said) the forwardness advarice and French despotick methods of the govern'r. and likewise I know him to be a thinking man, and tho' nicely honest, affable, and without blemish, in his conversation and dealings, yet did he manifest abundance of uneasiness in the sense of his hard usages, which might prompt him to improve that Indian quarrel to the service of his animosities, and for this the more fair and frequent opportunities offered themselves to him by his dwelling at Jamestown, where was the concourse from all parts to the govern'r. and besides that he had married a wealthy widow who kept a large house of publick entertainm't. unto which resorted those of the best quality, and such others as businesse called to that town, and his parts with his even temper made his converse coveted by persons of all ranks; so that being subtile, and having these advantages he might with lesse difficulty discover mens inclinations, and instill his notions where he found those woùd be imbib'd with greatest satisfaction.

As for Mr. Bacon fame did lay to his charge the having run out his patrimony in England except what he brought to Virginia and of that the most part to be exhausted, which together made him suspected of casting an eye to search for retrievment in the troubled waters of popular discontents, wanting patience to wait the death of his oppulent counsin, old Collo. Bacon, whose estate he expected to inherit.

But he was too young, too much a stranger there, and of a disposition too precipitate, to manage things to that length those were carried, had not thoughtfull Mr. Lawrence been at the bottom.

AN ACCOUNT

OF

OUR LATE TROUBLES

IN

VIRGINIA.

WRITTEN IN 1676, BY MRS. AN. COTTON,

OF Q. CREEKE.

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE RICHMOND (VA.) ENQUIRER, OF 12 SEPT. 1804.

WASHINGTON:
PRINTED BY PETER FORCE.
.....
1835.

OUR LATE TROUBLES.

To Mr. C. H. at *Yardly* in *Northamptonshire.*

Sr. I haveing seene yours directed to————and considering that you cannot have your desires satisfied that way, for the forementioned reasons, I have by his permition, adventured to send you this breife acount, of those affaires, so far as I have bin informed.

The Susquehanians and Marylanders of friendes being ingaged enimyes (as hath by former letter bin hinted to you) and that the Indians being ressalutely bent not to forsake there forte; it came to this pointe, yt the Marylanders were obliged (findeing themselves too weake to do the worke themselves) to suplycate (too soone granted) aide of the Verginians, put under the conduct of one Collonel Washingtõ (him whom you have sometimes seene at your howse) who being joyned with the Marylanders, invests the Indians in there forte, with a neglegent seige; upon which the enimye made severall salleys, with as many losses to the beseegers; and at last gave them the opertunity to disart the Fort, after that the English had (contrary to ye law of arms) beate out the Braines of 6 grate men sent out to treate a peace: an action of ill consequence, as it proved after. For the Indians having in the darke, slipt through the Legure, and in there passage knock'd 10 of the beseigers on the head, which they found fast a-sleep, leaving the rest to prosecute the Seige, (as Scoging's Wife brooding the Eggs which the Fox had suck'd) they resolved to imploy there liberty in avenging there Commissionres blood, which they speedily effected in the death of sixty inosscent soules, and then send in there Remonstrance to the Governour, in justification of the fact, with this expostulation annext: Demanding what it was moved him to take up arms against them, his professed friends, in the behalfe of the Marylanders, there avowed enimyes. Declaring there sorow to see the Verginians, of friends to becom such violent enimies as to persue the Chase in to anothers dominions. Complanes that there messingers sent

out for peace were not only knock'd on the head but the fact countenanc'd by the governour; for which (finding no other way to be satisfied) they had revenged themselves, by killing ten for one of the English; such being the disperportion between there men murthered, and those by them slane, theres being persons of quallety, the other of inferiour Ranke: Professing that if they may have a valluable satisfaction, for the damage they had sustained by the English, and that the Verginians would with-draw there aides from the Marylanders quarrill; that then they would renew the league with Sr W. B.* otherways they would prossecute ye war to the last man; and the hardest fend of.

This was faire play, from fowle gamesters. But the perposealls not to be alowed of as being contrary to the honour of the English, the Indians proceede, and having drawn the neighboring Indians into there ade, in a short time, they commit abundance of ungarded and unrevenged murthers; by which meanes a grate many of the outward plantations were disarted; the doeing whereof did not onely terefye the wholl collony, but subplanted those esteemes the people had formerly for Sr. W. B. whom they judged too remiss in applying meanes to stop the fewrye of the Heathen; and to settle there affections, and expectations, upon one Esqr. Bacon, newly come into the Countrey, one of the Councell, and nearly related to your late wives father-in-law, whom they desired might be commissionated Generall, for the Indian war; Which Sr. William (for some reasons best knowne unto himself) denying, the Gent: man (without any scruple) accepts of a commission from the peoples affections, signed by the emergences of affaires and the Countreys danger; and so forthwith advanceth with a small party (composed of such that owne his Authorety) against the Indians; on whom, it is saide he did signall execution: In his absence hee and those with him, were declared Rebells to the State, May 29, and forces raised to reduce him to his obedience; at the head of which the Governour advanceth, some 30 or 40 miles to find Bakon out, but not knowing which way he was gon, he dismisseth his army, retireing himself and councell, to James Towne, there to be redy for the assembly, which was now upon the point of meeting: Whither Bacon, some few days after his return hom from his Indian march, repared to render an account of his servis; for which himself and most of those with him in the expedition, were imprissoned; from whence they were freed by a judgment in court upon Bacon's tryall, himself readmited

* Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia.

into the councell and promised a commission the Monday following (this was on the Saturday) against the Indians; with which deluded, he smothers his resentments, and beggs leave to visit his Lady (now sick, as he pretended) which granted, hee returnes to Towne at the head of 4 or 5 hundred men, well Arm'd: reassumes his demands for a commission. Which, after som howers strugling with the Governour, being obtained, according to his desire, hee takes order for the countreyes security, against the attemps of sculking Indians; fills up his numbers and provisiones, according to the gage of his commission; and so once more advanceth against the Indians, who heareing of his approaches, calls in there Runers and scouts, be taking themselves to there subterfuges and lurking holes. The General (for so he was now denominated) had not reach'd the head of York River, but that a Post overtakes him, and informes, that Sr. W. B. was a raiseing the Traine-bands in Glocester, with an intent, eather to fall into his reare, or otherways to cutt him off when he should return wery and spent from his Indian servis. This strange newes put him, and those with him, shrodly to there Trumps, beleiveing that a few such Deales or shufles (call them which you will) might quickly ring both cards and game out of his hands. He saw that there was an abselute necessety of destroying the Indians, and that there was som care to be taken for his owne and Armys safety, other-ways the worke might happen to be rechedly don, where the laberours were made criples, and be compeld (insteade of a sword) to make use of a cruch. It vext him to the heart (as he said) to thinke, that while he was a hunting Wolves, tigers and bears, which daly destroyd our harmless and innosscent Lambs, that hee, and those with him, should be persewed in the reare with a full cry, as more savage beasts. He perceved like the corne, he was light between those stones which might grinde him to pouder; if he did not looke the better about him. For the preventing of which, after a short consult with his officers, he countermarcheth his Army (about 500 in all) downe to the midle Plantation: of which the Governour being informed, ships himself and adhearers, for Accomack (for the Gloster men refused to owne his quarill against the Generall) after he had caused Bacon, in these parts to be proclamed a Rebell once more, July 29.

Bacon being sate down with his Army at the midle Plantation, sends out an invitation unto all the prime Gent: men in these parts, to give him a meeting in his quarters, there to consult how the Indians were to be proceeded against, and himself and Army protected against the desines of Sr. W. B. aganst whose Papers,

of the 29 of May, and his Proclameation since, he puts forth his Replication and those papers upon these Dellama's.

First, whether persons wholy devoted to the King and countrey, haters of sinester and by-respects, adventering there lives and fortunes, to kill and destroy all in Arms, against King and countrey; that never ploted, contrived, or indevioured the destruction, detryement or wrong of any of his Majesties subjects, there lives, fortunes, or estates can desurve the names of Rebells and Traters: secondly he cites his owne and soulders peaceable behaviour, calling the wholl countrey to witness against him if they can; hee upbrades som in authorety with the meaneness of there parts, others now rich with the meaneness of there estates, when they came into the countrey, and questions by what just ways they have obtained there welth; whether they have not bin the spunges that hath sück'd up the publick tresury: Questions what arts, sciences, schools of Learning, or manufactorys, have bin promoted in authorety: Justefyes his adverssion, in generall against the Indians; upbrades the Governour for manetaneing there quarill, though never so unjust, aganest the Christians rights; his refuseing to admit an English mans oath against an Indian, when that Indians bare word should be accepted of against an Englishman: sath sumthing against ye Governour concerning the Beaver trade, as not in his power to dispose of to his owne proffit, it being a Monopeley of the crowne; Questions whether the Traders at the heads of the Rivers being his Facters, do not buy and sell the blood of there bretheren and country men, by furnishing the Indians with Pouder, shott and Fire Arms, contrary to the Laws of the Collony: He araignes one collonell Cowells asscertion, for saying that the English are bound to protect the Indians, to the hassard of there blood. And so concludes with an Appeale to the King and Parliament, where he doubts not but that his and the Peoples cause will be impartially heard.

To comply with the Generalls Invetation, hinted in my former Letter, there was a grate convention of the people met him in his quarters; the result of whose meeting was an Ingagement, for the people (of what qullety soever, excepting servants) to subscribe to consisting of 3 heads. First to be aideing, with there lives and estates, the Generall, in the Indian war: secondly, to opose Sr. Williams designes, if hee had any, to hinder the same: and lastly, to protect the Generall, Army and all that should subscribe this Ingagement, against any power that should be sent out of England, till it should be granted that the countreys complaint might be heard, against Sr. William before the

King and Parliament. These 3 heads being methodized, and put in to form, by the Clarke of ye Assembly, who happened to be at this meeting, and redd unto the people, held a despute, from allmost noone, till midnight, pro and con, whether the same might, in the last Article especially, be with out danger taken. The Generall, and som others of the cheife men was Resalute in the affirmative, asserting its innosscency, and protesting, without it, he would surrender up his commission to the Assembly, and lett them finde other servants, to do the countreys worke: this, and the newse, that the Indians were fallen downe in to Gloster county, and had kill'd som people, a bout Carters Creeke; made the people willing to take the Ingagement. The cheife men that subscribed it at this meeting, were coll. Swan, coll. Beale, coll. Ballard, Esq. Bray, (all foure of the councell) coll. Jordan, coll. Smith, of Purton, coll. Scarsbrook, coll. Miller, coll. Lawrane, and Mr. Drommond, late Governour of Carolina; all persons, with whom you have bin formerly acquainted.

This worke being over, and orders taken for an Assemblye to sitt downe the 4 of September (the writs being issued out in his majestyes name, and signed by 4 of the Councell, before named) the Generall once more sitts out to finde the Indians: of which Sr. William have gained intelligence, to prevent Bacons designes by the Assembley, returns from Accomack, with a bout 1000 soulders, and others, in 5 shipps and 10 sloops to James towne; in which was som 900 Baconians (for soe now they began to be called, for a marke of destinction) under the command of coll. Hansford, who was commissionated by Bacon, to raise Forces (if need were) in his absence, for the safety of the countrey. Unto these Sr. William sends in a summons for a Rendition of ye place, with a pardon to all that would decline Bacons and entertaine his cause. What was returned to this sommons I know not; but in the night the Baconians forsake the Towne, by the advice of Drummond and Lawrance (who were both excepted, in the Governours sommons, out of mercy) every one returning to there owne aboades, excepting Drommond, Hansford, Lawrence, and some few others, who goes to finde out the Generall, now returned to the head of York River, haveing spent his provisions in following the Indians on whom he did sum execution, and sent them packing a grate way from the Borders.

Before that Drommond and those with him had reached the Generall, he had dismist his Army, to there respective habitations, to gather strength against the next intended expedition; eccepting som frew resarved for his Gard, and persons liveing in

these parts; unto whom, those that came with Hansford being joyned, made about 150 in all: With these Bacon, by a swift march, before any newes was heard of his return from the Indians, in these parts, comes to Towne, to ye consternation of all in it, and there blocks the Governour up; which he easily effected by this unheard of project. He was no sooner arived at Towne, but by several small partyes of Horse (2 or 3 in a party, for more he could not spare) he fetcheth into his little Leagure, all the prime mens wives, whose Husbands were with the Governour, (as coll. Bacons Lady, Madm. Bray, Madm. Page, Madm. Ballard, and others) which the next morning he presents to the view of there husbands and ffriends in towne, upon the top of the smalle worke hee had cast up in the night; where he caused them to tarey till hee had finished his defence against his enemies shott, it being the onely place (as you do know well enough) for those in towne to make a salley at. Which when compleated, and the Governour understanding that the Gentle women were withdrawne in to a place of safety, he sends out some 6 or 700 hundred of his soulders, to beate Bacon out of his Trench: But it seems that those works, which were protected by such charms (when a raiseing) that plug'd up the enimys shot in there gains, could not now be storm'd by a vertue less powerfull (when finished) then the sight of a few white Aprons; otherways the servis had bin more honourable and the damage less, several of those who made the salley being slaine and wounded, without one drop of Blood drawne from the enimy. With in too or three days after this disaster, the Governour reships himself, soulders, and all the inhabitants of the towne, and there goods: and so to Accomack a gane; leaving Bacon to enter the place at his pleasure, which he did the next morning before day, and the night following burns it downe to the ground to prevent a futer seege, as hee saide. Which Flagrant, and Flagitious Act performed, he draws his men out of town, and marcheth them over York River, at Tindells point, to finde out collneH Brent, who was advancing fast upon him, from Potomack, at the head of 1200 men, (as he was informed) with a designe to raise Bacons seige, from before the towne, or other ways to fight him, as he saw cause. But, Brents shoulders no sooner heard that Bacon was got on the north-side Yorke River, with an intent to fight them, and that he had beate the Governour out of the towne, and fearing, if he met with them, that he might beate them out of there lives they basely forsake there colours, the greater part adheareing to Bacons cause; resolveing with the Perssians to go and worship the rising sun, now approaching nere there Horisson: of

which Bacon being informed, he stops his proceedings that way, and begins to provide for a nother expedition a gainst the Indian, of whom he had heard no news since his last March, a gainst them: which while he was a contriveing, Death summons him to more urgent affairs in to whose hands (after a short seige) he surrenders his life, leaving his commition in the custody of his Leif't Generall, one Ingram, newly comin to the countrey.

Sr. William no sooner had news that Bacon was Dead but he sends over a party, in a sloope to Yorke who snap'd collonell Hansford, and others with him, that kep a negilegent Gard at coll. Reades howse under his command: When Hansford came to Acomack, he had the honour to be the first Verginian born that ever was hang'd; the soulders (about 20 in all) that were taken with him, were commited to Prisson. Capt. Carver, Capt. Wilford, Capt. Farloe, with 5 or 6 others of less note, taken at other places, ending there days as Hansford did; Major Cheesman bein apointed (but it seems not destinated to the like end, which he prevented by dying in prisson through ill usage, as it is said.

This execution being over (which the Baconians termed crewilty in the abstract) Sr. William ships himself and soulder for York River, casting Anchor at Tindells point; from whence he sends up a hundred and 20 men to surprise a Gard, of about, 30 men and boys, kept at coll. Bacons howse, under the command of Major Whaly; who being fore-warn'd by Hansford fate, prevented the designed conflict with the death of the commander in cheife, and the taking som prisoners: Major Lawrence Smith, with 600 men, meeting with the like fate at coll. Pates Howse, in Gloster, a gainst Ingram, (the Baconian Generall) onely Smith saved himself, by leaving his men in the lurtch, being all made prissoners; whom Ingram dismist to their owne homes; Ingram himself, and all under his command, with in a few days after, being reduced to his duty, by the well contrivance of Capt. Grantham, who was now lately arived in York River: which put a period to the war, and brought the Governour a shoare at coll. Bacons, where he was presented with Mr. Drumond; taken the day before in Cheekanonimy swomp, half famished, as him self related to my Husband. From coll. Bacons, the next day, he was convayed, in Irons to Mr. Brays (whither the Governour was removed) to his Tryall, where he was condemn'd with in halfe an hower after his coming to Esqr. Brays, to be hanged at the midle Plantation, within 4 howers after condemnation; where he was accordingly, executed, with a pittifull French man. Which don, the Governour removes to his owne howse, to settle

his and the countryes repose, after his many troubles; which he effected by the advice of his councel and an Assembly convein'd at the Greene Spring; where severall were condemned to be executed, prime actors in ye Rebellion; as Esqr. Bland, coll. Cruse, and som other hanged at Bacons Trench; Capt. Yong, of Cheekahominy, Mr. Hall, clarke of New-Kent court, James Wilson (once your servant) and one Leift. Collonell Page, (one that my Husband bought of Mr. Lee, when he kep store at your howse) all four executed at coll. Reads, over against Tindells point; and Anthony Arnell (the same that did live at your howse) hanged in chanes at West point, beside severall others executed on the other side James River: enough (they say in all) to out number those slane in the wholl war; on both sides: it being observable that the sword was more favourable then the Halter, as there was a grater liberty taken to run from the sharpness of the one, then would be alowed to shun the dull imbraces of the other: the Hangman being more dredfull to the Baconians, then there Generall was to the Indians; as it is counted more honourable, and less terable, to dye like a soulder, then to be hang'd like a dogg.

Thus Sr. have I rendered you an account of our late troubles in Verginia, which I have performed too wordishly; but I did not know how to help it; Ignorance in som cases is a prevalent ovatour in pleading for pardon, I hope mine may have the fortune to prove soe in the behalfe of

Sr. Yor. ffriend and servant,

AN. COTTON.

From Q. Creeke.

To his Wife, A. C. at *Q. Creek.*

My deare,

Allthough those who have depicted that fickle Godes, Fortune, have represented her under various shapes, there by to denote her inconstancys; yet do I thinke there is not any thing sublunary subjected to the vicissetudes of her temper so much as is the condition and estate of man-kinde: All things ells partakes som thing of a stedfast and perminent decree excepting Man in the state of his affaires. The sun is constant in his Anuall progress through the Zodiack, the Moone in her changes, the other Planits in ther Asspects: The productions of the Earth have a fixed constant season for there groath and increase, when that man (in his creation litle inferiour to the Angles) cannot promise unto-himself a fix'd condition, on this side Heaven.

How many hath thou and I read off, that the sun hath shined upon in the East, with honours and Dignityes, which his western beames hath seene clouded with poverty, reproaches and contumelles. The same moment that saw Ceaser cheife Man in the senate, beheld him in a worss condition then the meanest slave in Rome; and in less then 6 howers Phœbus ey'd the Marqus of Ancrey, in the midst of his Rustling traine of servitures, not onely streameing out his blood, but spurn'd and drag'd up and down the dirtie streets of Paris, by the worst of mecanicks. It is but the tother day that I did see N. B.* in the condition of a Tratour, to be tryed for his life; who but a few days before was judged the most accomplish'd Gen: man, in Verginia to serve his King and countrey, at the councell Table, or to put a stop to the insolencies of the Heathen, and the next day rais'd to his dignities againe; Thus doth fortune sport her self with poore mortells, som times mount them up in to the aire (as Byes do Tennis balls) that they may com with the grater violence downe, and then a gane strike them a gainst the earth that they may with ye grater speed mount up in to the Aire, &c. &c.

From Towne, June 9, '76.

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* Nathaniel Bacon.

A LIST

OF

THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN EXECUTED

FOR THE

LATE REBELLION

IN

VIRGINIA,

BY SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY,

GOVERNOR OF THE COLONY.

COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, (HARLEIAN COLLECTION, CODEX 6845, PAGE 54,) IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON, BY ROBERT GREENHOW, ESQ., OF VIRGINIA.

WASHINGTON:
PRINTED BY PETER FORCE.

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1835.

A LIST OF THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN EXECUTED FOR Y^e^ LATE REBELLION IN VIRGINIA.

1.—One Johnson, a stirer up of the people to sedition but no fighter.

2.—One Barlow, one of Cromwell's soldiers, very active in this rebellion, and taken with forty men coming to surprise me at Accomack.

3.—One Carver, a valiant man, and stout seaman, taken miraculously, who came with Bland, with equall com'n and 200 men to take me and some other gentlemen that assisted me, with the help of 200 soldiers; miraculously delivered into my hand.

4.—One Wilford, an interpreter, that frighted the Queen of Pamunkey from y^e^ lands she had granted her by the Assembly, a month after peace was concluded with her.

5.—One Hartford, a valiant stout man, and a most resolved rebel.

All these at Accomack.

—

AT YORK WHILST I LAY THERE.

1.—One Young, commissionated by Genl. Monck long before he declared for y^e^ King.

2.—One Page, a carpenter, formerly my servant, but for his violence used against the Royal Party, made a Colonel.

3.—One Harris, that shot to death a valiant loyalist prisoner.

4.—One Hall, a Clerk of a County but more useful to the rebels than 40 army men—that dyed very penitent confessing his rebellion against his King and his ingratitude to me.

AT THE MIDDLE PLANTATION.

One Drummond, a Scotchman that we all suppose was the originall cause of the whole rebellion, with a common Frenchman, that had been very bloody.

—

CONDEMNED AT MY HOUSE, AND EXECUTED WHEN BACON LAY BEFORE JAMESTOWN.

1.—One Coll'l Crewe, Bacon's parasyte, that continually went about y^e^ country, extolling all Bacon's actions, and (justifying) his rebellion.

2.—One Cookson, taken in rebellion.

3.—One Darby, from a servant made a Captain.

WILLM. BERKELEY.

A NARRATIVE

OF THE

INDIAN AND CIVIL WARS

IN

VIRGINIA,

In the Years 1675 and 1676.

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE FIRST VOLUME (SECOND SERIES) OF THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY JOHN ELIOT, NO 5, COURT STREET.

1814.

P. Force, *Washington*, 1835.

LETTER FROM THE HON. WILLIAM A. BURWELL, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA, TO THE HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

WASHINGTON, *December 20th*, 1812.

DEAR SIR, The Manuscript copy of Bacon and Ingram's Rebellion was found among the papers of the late Capt. Nathaniel Burwell, of King William County.—I have not been able to obtain many particulars from his family relative to it.

At the close of the war he heard of its existence in an old and respectable family of the Northern Neck of Virginia, and procured it for his amusement; he entertained no doubt of its antiquity, and valued it on that account.

From the appearance of the work, the minute and circumstantial detail of facts, the orthography, and the style, I am perfectly satisfied his opinion was correct.—I hope it will be found worthy of a place in the valuable collections of the Society to which you belong.

Permit me to offer my best wishes for the success of your labours. Yours, respectfully,

WILLIAM A. BURWELL,
Of Virginia.

The Indians Proseedings. *

* * * * * * * * * * *

for their owne security. They found that their store was too short to indure a long seige, without making emty bellies and that emty bellies makes weake hearts, which alway makes an unfit serving man to wait upon the God of War. Therefore they were resolve, before that their spirits were downe, to do what they could to keepe their stores up, as oppertunitie should befriend them: and allthough they were by the law of armes (as the case now stood) prohibited the hunting of wilde deare, they resolved to see what good might be don by hunting tame horsses: which trade became their sport soe long, that those who came on horseback to the seige began to feare they should be compeld to trot hom on foot, and glad if they scap'd so too, for these belegured blades made so many salleys, and the beseigers kep such neglegent gards, that there was very few days past without som remarkeable mischiefe. But what can hold out allways? even stone walls yields to the not-to-be gaine saide summons of time. And allthough it is saide that the Indians doth the least minde their bellies (as being content with a little) of any people in the world, yet now their bellies began to minde them, and their stomachs too, which began to be more inclinable to peace than war; which was the cause (no more horse-flesh being to be had) that they sent out 6 of their Wœrowances (chief men) to commence a treaty. What the artickles were that they brought along with them to treate of I doe not know, but certainely they were so unacceptable to the English, that they caused the Commissioners braines to be knock'd out for dictating so badly to

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* We regret that the beginning of this Manuscript is missing, and that several parts were so much torn that it became necessary to leave vacant spaces. Where the expression is uncertain, but the page not wholly disfigured, we have used *italick letters*. ED.

their tongues, which yet, tis possible, exprest more reason, than the English had to prove the lawfulness of this action, being diametrecall to the law of arms.

This strange action put those in the Fort to their trumps, having thus lost som of their prime court cards, without a faire dealing. They could not tell what interpretation to put upon it (nay, indeed, nobody else) and very faine they would *understand* why those, whom they sent out with a *view to supplicate* a peace should be worse dealt with than those who were sent out with a sword to denounce a war; but *no one* could be got to make inquirie into the reason of this * * which put them upon a resolution to forsake their *station*, and not to expostulate the cause any further. Having *made* this resolution, and destroyed all things in the Fort, that might be servisable to the English, they boldly, undiscovered slip through the league (leaving the English to prosecute the seige as Schogin's wife brooded the eggs that the fox had suck'd) in the passing of which they knock'd ten men on the head, who lay carelessly asleep in their way.

Now allthough it might be saide that the Indians went their ways emty handed, in regard they had left all their plunder and wealth behind them in the Fort, yet it cannot be thought that they went away emty hearted: for though that was pritty well drained from its former curage through those inconveniences that they had bin subjected to by the seige, yet in the room thereof, rather than the venticles should lie voide, they had stowed up so much mallize, entermixt with a resollution of revenge, for the affrunt that the English had put upon them, in killing their messingers of peace, that they resolved to commence a most barbarous and most bloody war.

The beseigers having spent a grate deale of ill imployed time in pecking at the huske, and now finding the shell open, and missing the expected prey, did not a little woonder what was becom of the lately impounded Indians, who, though at present, they could not be seene, yet it was not long before they were heard off, and felt too: for in a very short time they had, in a most inhumane manner, murthered no less than 60 innocent people, no ways guilty of any actual injury don to these ill-discerning, brutish heathen. By the blood of these poore soules, they thought that the wandering ghosts of those their Commissioners before mentioned, might be atton'd and lade down to take their repose in the dismall shades of death, and they, at present, not obliged for to prosecute any farther revenge. Therefore to prove whether the English was as redy for a peace as themselves, they send their remonstrance in the name of their *Chief*, taken

by an English interpreter, unto the Governour of Verginia, with whom he expostulates in this sort. What *was it* that moved him to take up arms against him his *professed* friend in the behalfe of the Marylanders his professed enemies contrary to that league made betweene him and himselfe? declares as well his owne as subjects griefe to finde the Verginians, of friends, without any cause given to becom his foes, and to be so eager in their groundless quarrell, as to persew the chase in to anothers dominions: complaines that his messingers of peace were not onely murthered by the English, but the fact countenanced by the Governour's connivance: for which, seeing no other ways to be satisfied, he had revenged himselfe by killing 10 for one of the Verginians, such being the disperportion between his grate men murthered, and those by his command slane; that now this being done, if that his honour would allow him a valluable satisfaction for the damage he had sustained by the war, and no more concerne himselfe in the Marylanders quarill, he was content to renew and confirme the ancient league of amity, otherways himselfe, and those whom he had ingaged to his intress (and their owne) were resolved to fite it out to the last man.

These proposals not being assented to by the English, as being derogatory and point blank both to honour and intress, these Indians draw in others (formerly in subjection to the Verginians) to their aides: which being conjoyned (in separate and united parties) they dayly committed abundance of unguarded and unrevenged murthers upon the English, which they perpretrated in a most barbarous and horrid manner. By which means abundance of the Fronteare Plantations became eather depopulated by the Indian settlers, or deserted by the planters feares, who were compelled to forsake their abodes to find security for their lives; which they were not to part with in the hands of the Indians, but under the worst of torments. For these brutish and inhuman brutes, lest their cruelties might not be thought cruell enough, they devised a hundred ways to torter and torment those poore soules with, whose reched fate it was to fall into their unmerciful hands. For some before they would deprive them of their lives they would take a great deal of time to deprive them first of their skins, and if their life had not, through the anguish of their paine, forsaken their tormented bodies, they *with their clubs knock out their teeth* (or som instrument) tear off the nails of *their hands* and their toes, which put the poor sufferer to a woful *condition.* One was *prepared for the flames at James' town,* who indured much, but found means to escape * * *

Cruelties of the Indians.

* * * * * * * * for least that their deaths should be attributed to some more merciful hands than theirs, to put all out of question, they would leave som of those brutish markes upon their fenceless bodies, that they might testify it could be none but they who had committed the fact.

And now it was that the poor distressed and doubly afflicted Planters began to curse and execrate that ill maniged business at the fort. Their cries were reiterated again and again, both to God and to man for releife. But no appearance of long wished for safety ariseing in the horizon of their hopes, they were redy, could they have tould which way to leave all and forsake the Collony; rather than to stay, and be exposed to the cruelties of the barberous heathen.

At last it was concluded, as a good expedient for to put the countrie in a good degree of safety, for to plant forts upon the Fronteirs, thinking thereby to put a stop to the Indians excursions, which after the expence of a grate deale of time and charge, being finished, com short of the designed ends. For the Indians quickly found out where the mouse traps were sett, and for what purpose, and so resolved to keep out of the way of their danger; which they might easy ennough do without any detriment to their designes. For tho' hereby they were compelled to go (tis possible) a little about, yet they never thought much of their labour, so long as they were not debarred from doing mischiefe; which was not in the power of these forts to prevent. For if that the English did at any time know that there was more ways into the wood than one to kill Deare, the Indians found more, a thousand out of the wood, to kill men, and not com neare the danger of the forts neather.

Forts to be built.

Not valued by the Indians.

The small good that was by most expected, and now by them experienced from those useless fabricks (or castells, *if so we say*) excited a marvellous discontent among the people. *Some thought the charge would be great*, and the benefit little * * * * * It *rent the hearts of many* that they should be compeld to work all day, nay all the year, for to reward those mole catchers at the fort, (nobody knew for what,) and at night could not find a place of safety to lie downe in, to rest their wery bones, for feare they should be shattered all to pieces by the Indians; upon which consideration they thought it best to petition the downefall of these useless (and like to be) chargeable fabricks, from whose continuance they could neither expect profit nor safety.

But for the effecting this business they found themselves under a very grate disadvantage, for tho' it may be more easier to cast downe than irect well cemented structures, yet the rule doth not hould good in all cases. For it is to be understood that these forts were contrived, eather by the sole command of the Governour, or otherways by the advise of those whose judgments, in these affairs, he approved off; eather of which was now, they being don, his own emmediate act, as they were don in his name, which to have undone at the simple request of the people, had bin in effect, to have undon the Repute he always held in the peoples judgment for a wise man; and better that they should suffer some small inconveniences, than that he should be accounted less discerning than those, who till now were counted more than halfe blinde. Besides how should he satisfie his honour of the undertakers of the work. If the peoples petition be granted, they must be disappointed, which would be little less than an undoing to them allsoe, in their expectation of proffitt to be raised from the work. Hereby the people quickly found themselves in an errour, when that they apprehended what a strong foundation the Forts were irected upon, honour and profit against which all their saping and mineing had no power to overturne. They having no other ingredience to makeing up their fire works with but prayers and mispent tears and intreties; which having vented to no purpose, and finding their condition every whit as bad, if not worse, as before the forts were made, they resolved to * * * * * * * * * * * *

The Forts disliked by the English.

Bacons Proseedings.

The people chose Col. Bacon their Generall, which post he accepted. He was a man of quality and merit, brave and eloquent, became much endeared, not so much for what he had yet done as the cause of their affections, as for what they expected he would doe to deserve their devotion; while with no common zeale they sent up their reiterated prayers, first to himselfe, and next to heaven, that he may becom their guardian angel, to protect them from the cruelties of the Indians, against whom this Gent: man had a perfect antipathy.

Bacon appears against the Indians.

It seemes that at the first rise of the war this Gent : man had made some overtures unto the Governour for a commission to go and put a stop to the Indians proseedings. But the Governour at present, eather not willing to commence the quarrill (on his part) till more suiteable reasons presented, for to urge his more severe prosecution of the same, against the heathen: Or that he doubted Bacons temper, as he appeared popularly inclined; A Constitution not consistent with the times, or the peoples dispositions; being generally discontented, for want of timely provisions against the Indians, or for annual impositions laid upon them, too grate (as they saide) for them to beare, and against which they had som considerable time complained, without the least redress. For these, or som other reasons, the Governour refused to comply with Bacons proposalls. Which he lookeing upon as undervalluing as well to his parts as a disperidgment to his pretentions, he in som elated and passionate expressions, sware Commission or no Commission, the next man or woman he heard off that should be killed by the Indians, he would go out against them, though but twenty men would adventure the servis with him. Now it so unhappily fell out, that the next person that the Indians did kill was one of his owne family. Whereupon having got together about 70 or 90 persons, most good housekeepers, well armed, and seeing that he could not legally procure a Commission (after some strugglings with the Governour) *som of his best friends* who *condemned* his enterprises, he applies himself * * * * * * * * * * * The Governour could not bear this insolent deportment of Bacon, *and spake freely against him, and condemned his proseedings.* Which * * instead of seeking means to appease his anger, they devised meenes to increase it, by framing specious pretences which they grounded upon the bouldness of Bacons actions, and the peoples affections. They began (som of them) to have Bacons merits in mistrust, as a luminary that threatened an eclipse to their riseing gloryes. Foo tho' he was but a yong man, yet they found that he was master and owner of those induments which constitutes a compleate man, (as to intrinsecalls) wisdom to apprehend and discretion to chuse. By which embellishments if he should continue in the Governours favour of seniours they might become juniours, while their yonger brother, thro' the nimbleness of his wit, might steale away that blessing, which they accounted their owne by birthright. This rash proseeding of Bacon, if it did not undoe himselfe, by his failing in the enterprise, might chance to undoe them in the af-

Bacon advanceth against the Indians.

fections of the people; which to prevent they thought it conducible to their intress and establishment, for to get the Governour in the minde to proclaime him a Rebell, as knowing that once being don, since it could not be don but in and by the Governours name, it must needs breed bad blood betweene Bacon and Sir William, not easily to be purged. For though Sir William might forgive, what Bacon as yet had acted; yet it might be questionable whether Bacon might forget what Sir William had don. However, according to their desires, Bacon and all his adherents, was proclaimed a Rebell, May the 29, and forces raised to reduce him to his duty. With which the Governour advanced from the middle plantation* to find him out, and if need was to fight him, if the Indians had not knockd him and those that were with him in the head, as some were in hope they had don, and which by som was earnestly desired.

Forces raised to reduce Bacon.

After som days the Governour retracts his march, (a jurnye of som 30 or 40 miles) to meet the assemblie now redy to set downe at our Metroppolis, while Bacon in the meane while meets with the Indians, upon whom he falls with abundance of resollution and gallantrey (as his own party relates it) in their fastness; killing a great many and blowing up their magazine of armes and powder, to a considerable quantity if *we may judge from himself*, no less than 4000 wt. This being done, and *all his* provisions spent, he returns home, and *while here* submits himselfe to be chosen burgess of the County in which he did live, contrary to his *qualifications*, take him as he was formerly one of the Councell of State, or as hee was now a proclaimed Rebell. However, he applyes himselfe to the performance of that trust reposed in him by the people, if he might be admitted into the house. But this not faying according to his desire, though according to his expectation, and he remaining in his sloop, (then at anchor before the towne) in which was about 30 gentle men besides himselfe, he was there surprised and made prisoner, with the rest, som being put into irons, in which condition they remained som time, till all things were fitted for the tryall. Which being brought to a day of heareing, before the Governour and Councell, Bacon was not only acquitted and pardoned all misdemeanours, but restored to the Councel table as before: and not only but promised to have a commission

Bacon meets with the Indians.

Bacon taken prisoner.

Brought upon his tryall and acquited.

*Williamsburg, See Beverly's history of Verginia.

June 10 promised a Commission.

signed the Monday following (this was Saturday) as Generall for the Indian warr, to the universal satisfaction of the people, who passionately desired the same; witnessed by the generall acclamations of all then in towne.

And here who can do less than wonder at the mutable and impermenent deportments of that blind Godes fortune, who in the morning leades men with disgraces, and ere night crowns him with honours; sometimes depressing, and again ellevating, as her fickle humer is to smile or frown, of which this Gentlemans fate was a kind of epittemy in the several vicissitudes and changes he was subjected in a very few days. For in the morning, before his tryall, he was in his enemys hopes, and his friends feares, judged for to receive the Gurdean due to a Rebell (and such he was proclaimed to be) and ere night crowned the Darling of the peoples hopes and desires, as the only man fitt in Verginia to put a stop to the bloody resolution of the Heathen. And yet againe, as a fuller manifestation of Fortunes inconstancye, within two or three days, the peoples hopes, and his desires, were both frustrated by the Governours refusing to singe the promised commission. At which being disgusted, though he dissembled the same so well as he could, he beggs leave of the Governour to dispense with his servis at the councell table, to visit his *Wife, who, as she had informed him, was indisposed*, which request the Governour (after som contest with his own thoughts) granted, contrary to the advice of som about him, who suspected Bacons designes, and that it was not so much his lady's sickness as the troubles of a distempered mind which caused him to withdraw to his own house, and that this was the truth, which in a few days was manifested, when that he returning to towne with 500 men in arms.

The Governour refuses to syne the Commission.

Bacon disgusted.

The Governour did not want intelligence of Bacons designes, and therefore sent out his summons for Yorke traine bands to reinforce his gards then at towne. But the time was so short, not above 12 howers warning) and those that appeared at the Rendezvous made such a slender number, that under 4 Ensignes there was not mustered above 100 soulders, and not one half of them sure neather, and all so sluggish in their march, that before they could reach towne, by a grate deale, Bacon had entered the same, and by force obtained a commission, calculated to the hight of his own desires. With which commission, being invested, (such as it was,) he

Bacon returnes to town at the head of 500 men, and forceath a Commission.

makes redy his provisions, fills up his companies to the designed number (500 in all) and so applies himselfe to those services the country expected from him. And, first, for the securing the same against the excursions of the Indians, in his absence (and such might be expected) he commissionated several persons, (such as he could confide in) in every respective county, with select companies of well armed men, to ravage the forests, thickets, swamps, and all such suspected places where Indians might have any shelter for the doing of mischiefe. Which proseedings of his put so much courage into the planters, that they begun to apply themselves to their accustomed employments in their plantations: which till now they durst not do, for fear of being knock'd in the head, as God knows too many were before these orders were observed.

While the Generall (for so was Bacon now denominated by virtue of his commission) was sedulous in these affaires, and fitting his provissions, about the head of Yorke river, in order to his advance against the Indians; the Governour was steareing quite different courses. He was once more persuaded (but for what reasons not visible) to proclaim Bacon a Rebell againe. And now since his absence afforded an advantage to raise the country upon him, so soone as he should returne tired and exhausted by his toyle and labour in the Indian war. For the putting this councel in execution, the Governour steps over in Gloster county, (a place the best replenished for men, arms, and affection of any County in Verginia,) all which the Governour summons to give him a meeting at a place and day assigned, where being met according to summons the Governours proposalls was so much disrelished, by the wholl Convention, that they all disbanded to their owne aboades, after their promise past to stand by and assist the Governour against all those who should go about to rong his person or debase his authority; unto which promise they annexed or subjoined severall reasons why they thought it not convenient at present, convenient to declare themselves against Bacon, as he was now advancing against the common enemy, who had in a most barbarous maner murthered som hundreds of their deare brethren and countrymen, and would, if not prevented by God, and the endeavours of good men, do their utmost for to cut off the wholl Collony.

The Gloster mens protestation.

Therefore did they think that it would be a thing inconsistent with right reason if that they in this desperate conjuncture of time, should go and ingage themselves one against another; from the result of which pro-

seedings, no thing could be expected but ruine and destruction unto both, to the one and other party, since that it might reasonably be conceived, that while they should be exposing their breasts against one anothers wepons, the barbarous and common enemy (who would make his advantages by our disadvantages) should be upon their backs to knock out their brains. But if it should so hapen (as they did hope would never hapen) that the Generall after the Indian war was finished, should attempt any thing against his Honers person or Government, that they would rise up in arms, with a joint consent, for the preservation of both.

Since the Governour could obtaine no more he was at present to rest himselfe contented with this, while those who had advised him to these undertakings, was not a little dissatisfied to find the event not answer their expectations. But he at present, seeing there was no more to be don, since he wanted a power to have that don, which was esteemed the maine of the affaires, now in hand to be don, namely, the gaineing of the Gloster men, to do what he would have done, he thought it best to do what he had a power to do, and that was once more to proclame Bacon a tratour, which was performed in all publick places of meetings in these parts. The noise of which proclameation, after that it had passed the admiration of all that were not acquainted with the reasons that moved his Honer to do what he had now don, soone reached the Generalls ears not yet stopt up from lisning to apparent dangers.

Bacon proclaimed a Tratour.

This strange and unexpected news put him, and som with him, shrodely to their trumps, believing that a few such deales, or shuffles (call them which you please) might quickly ring the cards and game too out his hand. He perceved that he was falne (like the corne between the stones) so that if he did not looke the better about him, he might chance to be ground to powder. He knew that to have a certaine enemy in his frunt, and more than uncertaine friends in his reare, portended no grate security from a violent death, and that there could be no grate difference betwene his being wounded to death in his breast with bows and arrows, or in the back with guns and musquet bullets. He did see that there was an absolute necessity of destroying the Indians for the prisarvation of the English, and that there was some care to be taken for his owne and souldiers safety, otherways that worke must be ill don where the laberoures are made criples, and compeld insteade of a sword to betake themselves to a crutch.

It vext him to the hart (as he was heard to say) for to think that while he was hunting wolves, tygers and foxes, which dayly destroyed our harmless sheepe and lambs, that hee and those with him should be persued, with a full crye, as a more savage or a no less ravenous beast. But to put all out of doubt, and himselfe in som degree of safety, since he could not tell but that som whom he left behind, might not more desire his death, than to hear that by him the Indians were destroyed, he forthwith (after a short consultation held with som of his soldiers) countermarches his army, and in a trice *came up with* them at the middle plantation,* a place situated in the very heart of the country.

The first thing that Bacon fell upon (after that he had settled himself at the middle plantation) was *to prepare his* remonstrance, and that as well against a certain *anonymous* paper of the 29 of May, as in answer to the Governours proclamation. Putting both papers upon *these declarations, he asks* whether parsons wholly devoted to their king and country, haters of all sinister, and by respects, aiming only at their countreys good, and indeavouring to the *utmost of their* power, to the haserd of their lives and fortunes, *that they might* destroy those, that are in armes against their king and *countrey*, men who never plotted, contrived, nor indeavoured *any* indiscretion, detriment or rong of any his Majesties *subjects*, in their lives, names, fortunes, or estates, can desarve the appellation of Rebells and Traters.

He cites the wholl countrey to testifie his and his souldiers peaceable behaviours; upbrades som in authority with the meanness of their parts; others, now welthey, with the meanness of their estates, when they first came into the country; and questions by what just ways or means, they have obtained the same; and whether they have not bin the spunges that have suck'd up and devoured the common tresurye? Questions what arts, ciences, schools of learning or manufacteres hath been promoted by any now in authority?— Justifies his aversion (in generall) against the Indians, upbrades the Governour for maintaneing their quarrill (tho' never so unjust) against the Christians rites, and interess; His refusing to admit an Englisman's oath against an Indian, when that an Indians word would be sufficient proofe against an Englisman. Saith something against the Governour about the Beaver trade, as being a monoply * * * * * * * Arraignes one Col. Coles ascertion *for saying* that the English are bound to protect the Indians at the haserd of their blood;

Bacons declaration.

* Williamsburg.

and so concludes with an appeale to King and Parlaiment where he *has no doubt* that his and the peoples cause will be impartially heard.

After this manner the game begins. *This declaration* of Bacon was the Preeludum to the following chapter * *

His next worke was to invite all that had any regard to themselves, or love to their countrey, their wives, children and other relations to give him a meeting at his quarters, at a day named, then and there to consider how to put the countrey into som degree of safety, and to indeavour for to stop those imminent dangers, now threatening the destruction of the wholl Collony, through the bloody proseedings of the Indians; and (as he saide) by Sir Williams doteing and irregular actings. Desiring of them not to sit still in this common tyme of callamity, with their hands in their bosoms; or as unconcern'd spectaters, stand gazing upon their approaching ruine, and not lend a hand to squench those flames, now likely to consume them and theirs to ashes. According to the summons most of the prime Gentlemen of these parts, (whereof some were of the Councell of State) gave Bacon a meeting at his quarters at the assigned time. Where being met (after a long harange by him made, much of the nature of, and to explaine the summons) he desired them to take the same so far into their consideration, that there might, by their wisdom, som expedient be found out, as well for the countreys securitie against Sir Williams irregular proseedings, as that he and armye might unmollest prosecute the Indian war. Ading, that neather himselfe, nor those under his command, thought it a thing consistent with reason or common sense to advance against the common enemy, and in the meane time want insurence (when they don the worke abrode) not to have their throts cut when they should return home, by those who had set them to worke. Being confident that Sir William and som others with him, through a sence of their unwarrantable actions, would do what was possible to be don, not only to destroy himselfe, but others (privie to their knavery) now ingaged in the Indian servis with him.

After that Bacon had urged what he thought meet for the better carrying on of those affaires, now hammering in his head, it was concluded by the wholl Convention, that for the establishing the Generall and armye, in a consistency of safety, and that as well upon his march against the Indians, as when he should return from the servis, and also for the keeping the countrey in peace in his absence, that there should be test a or recognitio drawne, and subscribed by the wholl countrey, which should

oblige them, and every of them, not to be aiding nor assisting Sir William Berkeley (for now he would not afford him the title of Governour) in any sort to the molestation, hindrance or detriment of the Generall and Army. This being assented to, the Clark of the Assembley was ordered to put the same into forme. Which, while he was a doeing, the Generall would needs have another branch added to the former, viz. That the people should not onely be obliged, not to be aideing Sir W. B. against the Generall, but the force of this recognition should be obliged to rise in arms against him, if he with armed forces should offer to resist the Generall, or disturb the countreys peace, in his absence, and not only so, (but to make the engagement A-la-mode Rebellion) he would have it added, that if any forces should be sent out of England, at the request of Sir William, or otherways to his aide, that they were likewise to be opposed till such time as the countreys cause should be sent *home*, and reported to his most sacred Majesty.

An oath projected.

These two last branches of this bugbeare did marvellously startle the people, especially the very last of all, yet to give the Generall satisfaction how willing they were to give him all the securitye that lay in their power, they seemed willing to subscribe the two first, as they stood single, but not to anye, if the last must be joined with them. But the Generall used or urged a great many reasons for signing the whole ingagement, as it was presented in the three conjoined branches, otherways no securitye could be expected neather to the countrey, armye, nor himselfe. Therefore he was resolved, if that they would not doe, what he did judge so reasonable, and necessary to be don, in and about the premises, that he would surrender up his commission to the assembley, and let the countrey find some other servants to go abrode and do their Worke.

Bacons reasons for the taking the oath.

For, says he, it is to be considered that Sir William hath already proclaimed me a Rebell, and it is not unknowne to himselfe that I both can and shall charge him with no less than treason. And it is not onely myself that must and is concerned in what shall be charged against him: But severall gentlemen in the countrey besides; who now are, and ever will be against his intress, and of those that shall adhere to his illegal proseedings, of which he being more than ordnarily sensible, it cannot in common reason be otherways conceved, but that he, being assisted by those forces now imployed, that they shall not be wholly imployed to the destruction of all those capeable to fram an accusation against him, to his sacred Majesty. Neather can it be reasonably appre-

hended, that he will ever condescend to any friendly accommodation with those that shall subscribe to all, or any part of this ingagement, unless such or such persons shall be surrendered up to his marcy to be proseeded against as he shall see fitt: and then how many, or few, those may be, whom he shall make choice of to be sent into the tother world that he may be rid of his feares in this, may be left to consideration.

Many things was (by many of those who were of this meeting) urged pro and con, concerning the taking or not taking of the ingagement:—But such was the resolute temper of the Generall against all reasoning to the contrary, that the wholl must be swallowed or ells no good would be don. In the urging of which, he used such suttill and specious pretences; som times for the pressing, and not to be dispensed with necessity, in regard of those feares the wholl Collony was subjected to through the daily murthers perpetrated by the Indians, and then againe opening the harmlessness of the Oath, as he would have it to be, and which he manidged solely against a grate many of those counted the wisest men in the countrey, with so much art and sophisticall dexterity that at length there was little saide by any against the same. Especially when the Gunner of York fort arrived, imploring aid to secure the same against the Indians; ading that there was a great number of poore people fled into it for protection, which could not be unless there was som speedy course taken to reinforce the said Fort with Munition and Arms, otherways it, and those fled to it, would go nere hand to fall into the power of the Heathen.

The Generall was som what startled at this newes, and accordingly expostulated the same, how it could possible be that the most conciderablest fortris in the Countrey, should be in danger to be surprised by the Indians. But being tould that the Governour, the day before, had caused all the Arms and Amunition to be conveyed out of the Fort into his owne vessell, with which he was saled forth of the countrey, as it was thought, it is strange to think, what impression this Story made upon the peoples apprehentions. In earnist this action did stager a grate many, otherways well inclined to Sir William, who could not tell what constructions to put upon it. However, this was no grate disadvantage to Bacons designes; he knew well enough how to make his advantages out of this, as well as he did out of the Gloster bisness, before mentioned, by frameing and stomping out to the peoples apprehentions what commentaries, or interpretations, he pleased, upon the least oversight by the Governour committed; which hee managed with so much cuning and subtillety, that

the peoples minds became quickly flexable, and apt to receve any impression, or simillitude, that his Arguments should represent to their ill discerning judgments ; in so much that the oath became now more smooth, and glib, to be swallowed, even by those who had the greatest repugnancy against it ; so that there was no more descourses used neather for restrictions, nor inlargements ; onely this salvo was granted unto those who would clame the benefit of it (and som did soe) yet not exprest in the written copey (viz.) That if there was any thing in the same of such dangerous consequence that might tant the subscribers Alegience, that then they should stand absolved from all and every part of the saide oath ; unto which the Generall gave his consent (and certainely he had too much cuning to denye, or gaine say it) saying, God forbid that it should be otherways ment, or intended ; adding that himselfe (and Armye by his command) had, som few days before taken the Oath of Alegience, therefore it could not rationally be imagined that eather himselfe, or them, would goe about to act, or do, any thing contrary to the meaneing of the same. The oath taken.

Bad ware requires a darke store, while sleeke and pounce inveagles the chapmans judgment. Though the first subscribers were indulged the liberty of entering their exceptions, against the strict letter of the oath, yet others who were to take the same before the respective justices of peace in their severall jurisdictions, were not to have the same lattitude. For the power of affording cautions, and exceptions, was solely in the imposer, not in those who should hereafter administer the oath, whereby the aftertakers were obliged to swallow the same (though it might haserd their choakeing) as it stood in the very letter thereoff. Neather can I apprehend what benefit could possibly accrue more unto those who were indulged, the fore saide previlidg than to those who were debar'd the same ; since both subscribed the ingagement as it stood in the letter, not as it was in the meaneing of the subscriber. It is trew, before God and their owne consciences, it might be pleadeable, but not at the bar of humane proseedings, without a favourable interpretation put upon it, by those who were to be the judges.

While Bacon was contriveing, and imposeing this illegall oath, for to secure himselfe against the Governour, the Governour was no less sollicitous to finde out meanes to secure himselfe against Bacon. Therefore, as the onely place of securytie, within the Collony, to keep out of Bacons reach, he sales over to Accomack. This place is sequestered from the mane part of Verginia through the enterposition Sir W. sails for Accomack.

of the grate Bay of Cheispiock, being itselfe an isthmus, and commonly called the Eastern shore. It is bounded on the East with the maine oacian, and on the South west with the aforesaide Bay, which runs up into the countrey navigable for the bigest ships more than 240 miles, and so consequently, not approacheable from the other parts of Verginia but by water, without surrounding the head of the saide Bay: A labour of toyle, time, and danger, in regard of the way, and habitations of the Indians.

It was not long before Bacon was informed where the Governour had taken sanctuary; neather was he ignorant what it was that moved him to do what he had don: He did allso apprehend that as he had found the way out, he could (when he saw his owne time) find the way in againe; and though he went forth with an emty hand he might return with a full fist. For the preventing of which (as he thought) he despatch'd away one Esq. Bland, a Gent: man of an active and stiring dispossition, and no grate admirer of Sir Williams goodness; and with him, in Commission, one Capt. Carver, a person acquainted with navigation, and one (as they say) indebted to Sir W. (before he dyed) for his life, upon a duble account with forces in two ships, eather to block Sir William up in Accomack, or otherways to inveagle the inhabitants (thinkeing that all the countrey, like the Friere in the Bush, must needs be so mad as to dance to their pipe) to surrender him up into their hands.

Bland and Carver sent to Accomack.

Bacon haveing sent Bland, and the rest, to doe this servis, once more re-enters upon his Indian march; after that he had taken order for the conveneing an Assembley, to sit downe on the 4 of September, the summons being authentick'd, as they would have it, under the hands of 4 of the Councell of State; and the reason of the Convention to manidge the affaires of the countrey in his absence; least (as he saide) while he went abrode to destroy the Wolves, the Foxes, in the meane time, should com and devour the Sheepe. He had not march'd many miles, from his head quarters, but that newes came post hast, that Bland and the rest with him, were snapt at Accomack; betrade as som of their owne party related) by Capt. Carver: but those who are best able to render an account of this affaire do aver, that there was no other Treason made use of but their want of discretion, assisted by the juce of the Grape: had it been otherways the Governour would never rewarded the servis with the gift of a Halter, which he honoured Carver with, suddenly after his surpriseall. Bland was put in Irons,

Bacon advanceth against the Indians.

Carver taken and hanged.

and ill intreated, as it was saide ; most of the soulders owned the Governours cause, by entering themselves into his servis ; those that refused were made prissoners, and promised a releasement at the price of Carvers fate.

The Governour being blest with this good servis, and the better servis, in that it was efected without blood shed, and being inform'd that Bacon was entred upon his Indian March, ships himselfe for the westerne shore, being assisted with 5 ships and 10 sloops, in which (as it is saide) was about a thousand soulders. The newes where of outstriping his canvass wings soone reached the eares of those left by Bacon, to see the Kings peace kep, by resisting the Kings vice gerent. For before that the Governour could get over the water, two fugetives was got to land, sent (as may be supposed) from som in Accomack, spirited for the Generalls quarill, to inform those here, of the same principles, of the Governours strength, and upon what terms his soulders were to fight. And first they were to be rewarded with those mens estates who had taken Bacons oath, catch that catch could. Secondly that they, and their heirs, for 21 yeares should be discharged from all impossition, excepting Church dues, and lastly, 12 pence per day, dureing the wholl time of servis. And that it was further decreed that all sarvants, whose masters were under the Generalls Colours, or that had subscribed the ingagement, should be set free, and injoy the fore mention'd benefits, if that they would (in Arms) owne the Governours cause. And that this was the wholl truth, and nothing but the truth, the two men before mentioned, deposed before Capt. Thorp one of the Iustasses of the peace, for York county, after that one Collonel Searsbrooke had more prudently declined the admiting these two scoundrills to the test. Whether these fellows were in the right or in the rong, as to what they had narated, I know not, but this is certaine, whether the same was trew, or false, it produced the effects of truth in peoples mindes; who hereby became so much distracted in their ressolutions, that they could not tell, at present, which way to turn themselves ; while their tongues expressed no other language but what sounded forth feares, wishes, and execrations, as their apprehensions, or affections dictated ; All looking upon themselves as a people utterly undon, being equally exposed to the Governours displeasure, and the Indians bloody cruilties : Som curseing the cause of their approacheing destruction, lookeing upon the oath to be no small ingredient, helping to fill

Sir W. ships himself for the western shore.

Upon what terms the Accomackians were to fight.

The peoples perplexed condition.

up the measure of their miserys: Others wishing the Generalls presence, as the onely rock of safety, while others look'd upon him as the onely quicksands ordained to swollow up, and sinke the ship that should set them on shore, or keep them from drownding in the whirle poole of confuseion.

Sir W. arrives at towne, Sept. 7.

In the midest of these feares and peturbations, the Governour arrives with his fleet of 5 ships and 10 sloopes, all well man'd (or appear'd to be soe) before the Towne; into which the Governour sends his summons (it being possest by 7 or 800 Baconians) for a Rendition; with a free and ample pardon to all that would decline Bacons intress, and owne his, excepting one Mr. Drummond, and one Mr. Larance, a Collonel, and both active promoters of Bacons designes: Which is a most apparent argument, that what those two men (before mentioned) had sworn to, was a mere pack of untruths. This his Honours Proclamation was acceptable to most in Towne; while others againe would not trust to it, feareing to meet with som after-claps of revenge: Which diversity of opinions put them all into a ressolution of deserting the place, as not Tenable (but indeed had it bin fortifyed, yet they had no commission to fight) while they had the liberty of soe doeing, before it should be wholly invested; which that night, in the dark, they put in execution, every one shifting for himselfe with no ordnary feare, in the gratest hast possible, for feare of being sent after: And that som of them was posses'd with no ordnary feare, may be manifested in Collonell Larence, whose spirits were so much destracted, at his apprehentions of being one excepted in the Governours act of grace, that he forsooke his owne howse with all his welth and a faire cupbord of plate entire standing, which fell into the Governours hands the next morning.

The Baconians forsake the towne.

The Towne being thus forsaken, by the Baconians, his Honour enters the same the next day, about noone; where after he had rendred thanks unto God for his safe arrivall (which he forgot not to perform upon his knees, at his first footeing the shore) hee applyes himselfe not only to secure what hee had got possesion of, but to increace and inlarge the same, to his best advantage. And knowing that the people of ould, useally painted the God of war with a belly to be fed, as well as with hands to fight, he began to cast about for the bringing in of provissions, for to feed his soulders; and in the next place for soulders, as well to reinforce his strength within, as to enlarge his quarters abrode: But as the saying is, Man may propose, but God will dispose; when

that his Honour thought himselfe so much at liberty, that he might have the liberty to go when and where he pleased, his expectations became very speedily and in a moment frustrated.

For Bacon haveing don his business against the Indians, or at least so much as he was able to do, haveing marched his men with a grate deale of toyle and haserd som hundreds of miles, one way and another, killing som and taking others prissoners, and having spent his provissions, draws in his forces within the verge of the English Plantations, from whence he dismiseth the gratest part of his Army to gether strength against the next designed march, which was no sooner don but he incounters the newes of the Governours being arived at towne. Of which being informed he with a marvellous celerity (outstriping the swift wings of fame) marcheth those few men now with him (which hee had onely reserved as a gard to his parson) and in a trice blocks up the Governour in towne, to the generall astonishment of the whole countrey; especially when that Bacons numbers was knowne; which at this time did not exseed above a hundred and fifty, and these not above two thirds at work neather. An action of so strange an aspect, that whoever tooke notis of it, could not choose but thinke but that the Accomackians eather intended to receive their promised pay, without desart; or otherways to establish such signall testimonies of their cowardize, or disaffections, or both, that posterity might stand and gaze at their reched stupidety.

Bacon blocks the Gov. up in towne.

Bacon soone perceved what easye worke he was likely to have, in this servis, and so begun to set as small an esteeme upon these mens curages, as they did upon their owne credits. Hee saw, by the Prolog, what sport might be expected in the play, and so began to dispose of his affaires accordingly. Yet not knowing but that the paucity of his numbers being once knowne, to those in towne, it might raise their hearts to a degree of curage, haveing so much the ods, and that manitimes number prevales against ressolution, he thought it not amiss, since the Lions strength was too weake, to strengthen the same with the Foxes Braines: and how this was to be efected you shall heare.

For emediately he despatcheth two or three parties of Horss, and about so many in each party, for more he could not spare, to bring into the camp some of the prime Gent: women, whose husbands were in towne. Where when arived he sends one of them to inform her owne, and the others Husbands, for what purposes he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be plac'd in the fore frunt of his men, at such time as those in towne should sally forth upon him.

Bacon sends for severall Gent: women into the camp, and for what.

The poor Gent: women were mightily astonished at this project; neather were their husbands voide of amazements at this subtill invention. If Mr. Fuller thought it strange, that the Divells black gard should be enrouled Gods soulders, they made it no less wonderful, that their innocent and harmless wives should thus be entred a white garde to the Divell. This action was a method, in war, that they were not well acquainted with (no not those the best inform'd in millitary affaires) that before they could com to pearce their enimies sides, they must be obliged to dart their weapons through their wives brest: By which meanes though they (in their owne parsons) might escape without wounds, yet it might be the lamentable fate of their better halfe to drop by gunshot, or otherways be wounded to death.

Whether it was these considerations, or some others, I do not know, that kep their swords in their scabards: But this is manifest, That Bacon knit more knots by his owne head in one day, than all the hands in towne was able to untye in a wholl weeke: While these Ladyes white Aprons became of grater force to keepe the beseiged from falleing out than his works (a pitiful trench) had strength to repel the weakest shot, that should have bin sent into his legure, had he not made use of this invention.

For it is to be noted that right in his frunt, where he was to lodge his men, the Governour had planted 3 grate guns, for to play poynt blank upon his men, as they were at worke, at about 100 or 150 paces distance; and then again, on his right hand, allmost close aborde the shore, lay the ships, with their broade sides, to thunder upon him if he should offer to make an onslante; this being the onely place, by land, for him to make his entrey into the towne; But for your better satisfaction, or rather those who you may show this naritive to, who have never bin upon the place, take this short description.

The description of Iames towne.

The place, on which the towne is built, is a perfect Peninsulla, or tract of land, allmost wholly incompast with water. Haveing, on the Sowth side the River (Formerly Powhetan, now called Iames River) 3 miles brode, incompast on the North, from the Easte pointe, with a deep creek, rangeing in a cemicircle, to the west, within 10 paces of the River; and there, by a small Istmos, tack'd to the Continent. This Iseland (for so it is denominate) hath for Longitude (East and West) nere upon two miles, and for Lattitude about halfe so much, bearing in the wholl compass about 5 miles, litle more or less. It is low ground, full of Marches and Swomps, which make the Aire, especially in the Sumer, insalubritious and unhelthy: It is not at all replenished with springs of fresh water, and that which they have in their wells, brackish,

ill sented, penurious, and not gratefull to the stumack; which render the place improper to indure the commencement of a seige. The Towne is built much about the midle of the Sowth line, close upon the River, extending east and west, about 3 quarters of a mile; in which is comprehended som 16 or 18 houses, most as is the church built of brick, faire and large; and in them about a dozen familles (for all the howses are not inhabited) getting their liveings by keeping of ordnaries, at extreordnary rates.

The Governour understanding that the Gent: women, at the Legure, was, by order, drawne out of danger, resolved if possible to beate Bacon out of his trench; which he thought might easily be performed, now that his Gardian Angles had forsaken his camp. For the efecting of which he sent forth 7 or (as they say) 800 of his Accomack-ians, who (like scholers goeing to school) went out with hevie harts, but returned hom with light heeles; thinkeing it better to turne their backs upon that storme, that their brests could not indure to strugle against, for feare of being gauled in their sides, or other parts of their bodys, through the sharpness of the wether; which (after a terable noyse of thunder and lightning out of the Easte) begun to blow with a powder (and some lead too as big as musket boolitts) full in their faces, and that with so grate a violence, that som of them was not able to stand upon their leggs, which made the rest betake themselves to their heeles; as the onely expedient to save their lives; which som amongst them had rather to have lost, then to have owned their safety at the price of such dishonourable rates.

A salley made upon Bacon.

The Governour was extremely disgusted at the ill management of this action, which he exprest in som passionate terms, against those who merited the same. But in ernist, who could expect the event to be otherways then it was, when at the first notis given, for the designed salley to be put in execution, som of the officers made such crabed faces at the report of the same, that the Guner of Yorke Fort did proffer to purchase, for any that would buy a Collonells, or a Captains Commission, for a chunke of a pipe.

The next day Bacon orders 3 grate guns to be brought into the camp, two whereof he plants upon his trench. The one he sets to worke (playing som calls it, that takes delight to see stately structurs beated downe, and men blowne up into the air, like Shutle Cocks) against the Ships, the other against the enterance into the towne, for to open a pasage to his intended storm, which now was resolved upon as he said, and which was pre-

The Gov. leaves towne.

vented by the Governours forsakeing the place, and shiping himselfe once more to Accomack; takeing along with him all the towne people, and their goods, leaveing all the grate Guns naled up, and the howses emty for Bacon to enter at his pleasure, and which he did the next morning before day: Where, contrary to his hopes, he met with nothing that might satisfie eather himselfe or soulders desires, except few horses, two or three sellers of wine, and some small quantity of Indian Corne with a grate many Taned hides.

The Governour did not presently leave Iames River, but rested at an Ancor some 20 miles below the towne, which made Bacon entertaine some thoughts, that eather hee might have a desire to reenter his late left quarters, or return and block him up, as he had Sir William. And that there was som probabillety Sir W. might steare such a course was news from Potomack (a province within the North Verge of Verginia) that Collonell Brent was marching at the head of 1000 soulders towards towne in vindication of the Governours quarill. The better to prevent Sir Williams designes (if he had a desire to returne) and to hinder his conjunction with Brent (after that he had consulted with his Cabinett Councell) he in the most barbarous manner converts the wholl towne into flames, cinders and ashes, not so much as spareing the church, and the first that ever was in Verginia.

Bacon sets the towne on fire.

Haveing performed this flagitious, and sacralidgious action (which put the worst of Sperits into a horid consternation, at so inhumane a fact) he marches his men to the Greene spring (the Governours howse soe named) where haveing stade (feasting his armye at the Governours cost) two or 3 days, till he was informed of Sir Williams motion, he wafts his soulders over the River at Tindells point, into Glocester county: takeing up his head quarters at Collonell Warners; from whence hee sends out his mandates, through the wholl county, to give him a meeting at the Court-howse; there to take the ingagement, that was first promoted at the Midle Plantation: for as yet, in this county, it was not admitted. While he was seduously contriving this affaire, one Capt. Potter arives in post haste from Rapahanock, with newes that Coll: Brent was advancing fast upon him (with a resolution to fight him) at the head of 1000 men, what horse what foote, if he durst stay the commencement. Hee had no sooner red the letter, but hee commands the drums to beate for the gathering his soulders under their collours; which being don he acquaints them with Brents numbers

Goes over into Gloster.

Bacon resolved to fight Brent.

and resolutions to fight, and then demands theirs; which was cherefully answered in the affirmative, with showtes and acclemations, while the drums thunders a march to meet the promised conflict: The soulders with abundance of cherefullness disburthening themselves of all impediments to expedition, order, and good disciplining, excepting their oathes, and wenches.

Bacon had not marched above 2 or 3 days jurney (and those but short ones too, as being loth to tire his laberours before they came to their worke) but he meets newes in post hast, that Brents men (not soulders) were all run away, and left him to shift for himselfe. For they haveing heard that Bacon had beate the Governour out of the towne they began to be afeared (if they should com within his reach) that he might beat them out of their lives, and so resolved not to come nere him. Collonell Brent was mightily astonished at the departure of his followers, saying that they had forsaken the stowtest man, and ruin'd the fairest estate in Verginia; which was by their cowardize, or disaffections, exposed to the mercy of the Baconians. But they being (as they thought) more obliged to looke after their own concernes and lives, then to take notis, eather of his vallour, or estate, or of their owne credits, were not to be rought upon by any thing that he could do or say; contrary to their own fancies.

Brents men forsake him.

This business of Brents haveing (like the hoggs the devill sheared) produced more noyse than wooll, Bacon, according to summons, meets the Gloster men at the Court howse: where appeared som 6 or 7 hundred horss and foot, with their arms. After that Bacon, in a long Harange, had tendered them the ingagement (which as yet they had not taken, and now was the only cause of this convention) one Mr. Cole offered the sence of all the Gloster men there present: which was sumed up in their desires, not to have the oath imposed upon them, but to be indulged the benefitt of Neutralitie: But this he would not grant, telling of them that in this their request they appeared like the worst of sinners, who had a desire to be saved with the righteous, and yet would do nothing whereby they might obtaine there salvation; and so offering to go away, one Coll: Gouge (of his party) calls to him and told him, that he had onely spoke to the Horss (meaning the Troopers) and not to the foote. Bacon, in som passion, replide, he had spoke to the Men, and not to the Horss; having left that servis for him to do, because one beast best would understand the meaneing of another. And because a minister, one Mr. Wading, did not onely refuse to take the Ingagement,

The oath tendered to the Gloster men.

Mr. Wading, a minister im prisoned.

but incouraged others to make him their example, Bacon committed him to the Gard; telling off him that it was his place to preach in the church, not in the camp: In the first he might say what he pleased, but in the last, he was to say no more than what should please him; unless he could fight to better purpose then he could preach.

The Gloster men having taken the ingagement, (which they did not till another meeteing, and in another place) and all the worke don on this side the Western shore, Bacon thought it not amiss, but worth his labour, to go and see how the Accomackians did. It must be confest that he was a Gent: man of a liberall education, and so consequently must be replenished with good manners, which inables, and obligeth all civell parsons both to remember, and repay receved curteces: which made him not to forget those kindnesses the Accomackians bestowed, in his absence, on his friends, and their neighbours, the Verginians: and so now he resolved (since he had nothing ells to do) for to go and repay their kind hearted vissitt. But first he thought good to send them word of his good meaneing, that they might not plead want of time, for want of knowledg, to provide a reception answerable to his quallety, and attendance. This was pritty faire play, but really the Accomackians did not halfe like it. They had rather his Honour would have had the patience to have stade till he had bin invited, and then he should have bin much more wellcom. But this must not hinder his jurney; if nothing ells interveine they must be troubled, with a troublesom guest, as their neighbours had bin, for a grate while together, to their extreordnary charge, and utter undoeing. But their kinde, and very mercyfull fate, to whom they, and their Posteritye, must ever remane indebted, observeing their cares and feares, by an admireable, and ever to be cellibrated providence, removed the causes. For

Bacon designes to go to Accomack.

Bacon haveing for som time, bin beseiged by sickness, and now not able to hould out any longer; all his strength, and provissions being spent, surrendered up that Fort, he was no longer able to keepe, into the hands of that grim and all conquering Captaine, Death; after that he had implored the assistance of the above mention'd Minester, for the well makeing his Articles of Rendition. The onely Religious duty (as they say) he was observed to perform dureing these Intregues of affaires, in which he was so considerable an actor, and soe much consearned, that rather then he would

Bacon dyes October 1st.

decline the cause, he became so deeply engaged in the first rise thereof, though much urged by arguments of dehortations, by his nearest relations, and best friends, that he subjected himselfe to all those inconvenences that, singly, might bring a man of a more Robust frame to his last hom. After he was dead he was bemoaned in these following lines (drawne by the man that waited upon his person, as it is said) and who attended his corps to their Buriall place: But where depossited till the Generall day, not knowne, onely to those who are ressolutely silent in that particular. There was many coppes of verces made after his departure, calculated to the Lattitude of their affections who composed them; as a rellish taken from both appetites I have here sent you a cuple.

Bacons Epitaph, made by his Man.

DEATH why soe crewill! what no other way
To manifest thy splleene, but thus to slay
Our hopes of safety; liberty, our all
Which, through thy tyrany, with him must fall
To its late caoss? Had thy rigid force
Bin delt by retale, and not thus in gross
Grief had bin silent: Now wee must complaine
Since thou, in him, hast more then thousand slane
Whose lives and safetys did so much depend
On him there lif, with him there lives must end.
If 't be a sin to think Death brib'd can bee
Wee must be guilty; say twas bribery
Guided the fatall shaft. Verginias foes
To whom for secret crimes, just vengance owes
Disarved plagues, dreding their just disart
Corrupted Death by Parasscellcian art
Him to destroy; whose well tride curage such,
There heartless harts, nor arms, nor strength could touch.
Who now must heale those wounds, or stop that blood
The Heathen made, and drew into a flood?
Who is't must pleade our Cause? nor Trump nor Drum
Nor Deputations; these alass are dumb,
And Cannot speake. Our Arms (though near so strong)
Will want the aide of his Commanding tongue,
Which conquer'd more then Ceaser: He orethrew
Onely the outward frame; this could subdue

The ruged workes of nature. Soules repleate
With dull Child could, he'd annemate with heate
Drawne forth of reasons Lymbick. In a word
Marss and Minerva, both in him Concurd
For arts, for arms, whose pen and sword alike
As Catos did, may admireation strike
Into his foes; while they confess with all
It was their guilt stil'd him a Criminall.
Onely this differance does from truth proceed
They in the guilt, he in the name must bleed.
While none shall dare his obseques to sing
In desarv'd measures; untill time shall bring
Truth Crown'd with freedom, and from danger free
To sound his praises to posterity.
Here let him rest; while wee this truth report
Hee's gon from hence unto a high Court
To pleade his Cause where he by this doth know
Whether to Ceaser hee was friend, or foe.

Upon the Death of G. B.

WHETHER to Ceaser he was Friend or Foe?
Pox take such Ignorance, do you not know?
Can he be Friend to Ceaser, that shall bring
The Arms of Hell, to fight against the King?
(Treason, Rebellion) then what reason have
Wee for to waite upon him to his Grave,
There to express our passions? Wilt not bee
Worse then his crimes, to sing his Ellegie
In well tun'd numbers; where each Ella beares
(To his Flagitious name) a flood of teares?
A name that hath more soules with sorrow fed,
Then reched Niobe, single teares ere shed;
A name that fil'd all hearts, all eares, with paine,
Untill blest fate proclam'd, Death had him slane.
Then how can it be counted for a sin
Though Death (nay though myselfe) had bribed bin,
To guide the fatall shaft? we honour all
That lends a hand unto a Trators fall.
What though the well paide Rochit soundly ply
And box the Pulpitt, into flattery;
Urging his Rhetorick, and strain'd elloquence,
T' adorne incoffin'd filth, and excrements;

Though the Defunct (like ours) nere tride
A well intended deed untill he dide?
'Twill be nor sin, nor shame, for us, to say
A two fould Passion checker workes this day
Of Joy and Sorrow; yet the last doth move
On feete impotent, wanting strength to prove
(Nor can the art of Logick yield releife)
How Joy should be surmounted by our greafe.
Yet that wee Greave it cannot be denide,
But 'tis because he was, not cause he dide.
So wep the poore distressed, Ilium Dames
Hereing those nam'd, their Citty put in flames,
And countrey ruin'd; If we thus lament
It is against our present loyes consent.
For if the rule in Phisick, trew doth prove,
Remove the cause, th' effects will after move,
We have outliv'd our sorrows; since we see
The causes shifting of our miserey.
Nor is't a single cause, that's slipt away,
That made us warble out, a well-a-day.
The Branes to plot, the hands to execute
Projected ills, Death loyntly did nonsute
At his black Bar. And what no Baile could save
He hath commited Prissoner to the Grave;
From whence there's no repreive. Death keep him close
We have too many Divells still goe loose.

Ingrams Proseedings.

The lion had no sooner made his exitt, but the ape (by indubitable right) steps upon the stage. Bacon was no sooner removed by the hand of good providence, but another steps in, by the wheele of fickle fortune. The countrey had, for some time, been guided by a company of knaves, now it was to try how it would behave itselfe under a foole. Bacon had not long been dead, (though it was a long time before som would beleive that he was dead) but one Ingram (or Isgrum, which you will) takes up Bacons Commission (or ells by the patterne of that cuts him out a new one) and as though he had bin his natureall heire, or that Bacons

Ingram takes up Bacons Commission.

Commission had bin granted not onely to himselfe but to his Executors, Administrators and Assignes, he (in the millitary Court) takes out a Probit of Bacons will and proclames himselfe his successor.

This Ingram, when that he came first into the countrey, had got upon his back the title of an Esquire, but how he came by it may pussel all the Heralds in England to find out, until he informs them of his right name: however, by the helpe of this (and his fine capering, for it is saide that he could dance well upon a Rope) he capered himselfe into a fine (though short lived) estate: by marying here, with a rich widow, vallued at some hundreds of pounds.

The first thing that this fine fellow did, after that he was mounted upon the back of his commission, was to spur or switch those who were to pay obedience unto his Authority, by geting himselfe proclamed Generall of all the forces now raised, or hereafter to be raised, in Verginia: Which, while it was performing at the head of the armye, the milkesop stoode with his hat in his hand, lookeing as demurely as the grate Turks Muftie, at the readeing of som holy sentance, extracted forth of the Alchron. The Bell-man haveing don, he put on his hat, and his Jannesarys threw up their caps; crying out as loud as they could bellow, God save our new Generall, hopeing, no doubt, but he, in imitation of the grate Sultaine, at his election, would have inlarged their pay, or ells have given them leave to have made Iewes of the best Christians in the Countrey: but he being more than halfe a Iew himselfe, at present forbad all plunderings, but such as he himselfe should be parsonally at.

Proclamed Generall.

It was not long before the Governour (still at Accomack) had intimation of Bacons death. He had a long time bin shut up in the Ark (as we may say) and now thought good to send out a winged messinger to see, if happily, the Delluge was any whit abated; and whether any dry ground emerged its head, on which with safety, he might sett his foot, without danger of being wetshod in blood, which accordingly he effected, under the command of one Major Beverly: a parson calculated to the Latitude of the servis, which required descretion, curage, and celerity, as qualetys wholly subservient to millitary affaires: And allthough he returned not with an Olive branch in his mouth, the Hyrogliph of peace, yet he went back with the laurell upon his browes, the emblim of conquest and triumph, haveing snapt up one Coll: Hansford, and his party, who kep garde, at the Howse where Coll: Reade

Beverly takes Hansford.

did once live. It is saide that Hansford, at (or a little before) the onslant, had forsaken the capitole of Marss, to pay his oblations in the temple of Venus; which made him the easere preay to his enimies; but this I have onely upon report, and must not aver it upon my historicall reputation: But if it was soe, it was the last sacryfize he ever after offered at the shrine of that Luxurious Diety, for presently after that he came to Accomack, he had the ill luck to be the first Verginian borne that dyed upon a paire of Gallows. When that he came to the place of Execution (which was about a mile removed from his prison) he seemed very well resolved to undergo the utmost mallize of his not over kinde Destinies, onely complaineing of the maner of his death. Being observed neather at the time of his tryall (which was by a Court Martiall) nor afterwards, to supplicate any other faviour, than that he might be shot like a soulder, and not to be hanged like a Dog. But it was tould him, that what he so passionately petitioned for could not be granted, in that he was not condemned as he was merely a soldier, but as a Rebell, taken in Arms, against the king, whose laws had ordained him that death. During the short time he had to live after his sentence he approved to his best advantage for the wellfare of his soul, by repentance and contrition for all his sins, in generall, excepting his Rebellion, which he would not acknowledge; desireing the people at the place of execution, to take notis that he dyed a loyal subject, and a lover of his countrey; and that he had never taken up arms, but for the destruction of the Indians, who had murthered so many Christians.

Hansford Executed.

The business being so well accomplished by those who had taken Hansford, did so raise their spirits, that they had no sooner delivered their fraight at Accomack, but they hoyse up their sailes, and back againe to Yorke River, where with a marvellous celerity they surprise one Major Cheise-Man, and som others, amongst whom one Capt. Wilford, who (it is saide) in the bickering lost one of his eyes, which he seemed litle concerned at, as knowing, that when he came to Accomack, that though he had bin starte blinde, yet the Governour would take care for to afford him a guide that should show him the way to the gallows. Since he had promised him a hanging, long before, as being one of those that went out with Bacon, in his first expedition against the Indians, without a commission.

Cheis-man and Wilford taken by Beverly.

This Capt. Wilford, though he was but a litle man, yet he had a grate heart, and was known to be no coward. He had, for some yeares bin an interpreter betwene the English and the

Indians, in whose affaires he was well acquainted, which rendred him the more acceptable to Bacon, who made use of him all along in his Indian war. By birth he was the second son of a knight, who had lost his life and estate in the late kings quarill, against the surnamed long Parliament, which forst him to Verginia (the onely citty of refuge left in his Majesties dominions, in those times, for distressed Cavallers) to seeke his fortunes, which through his industrey began to be considerable, if the kindness of his fate had bin more perminent, and not destined his life to so reched a death. Major Cheisman, before he came to his tryall, dyed in prison, of feare, of griefe, or bad useage, for all these are reported; and so by one death prevented another more dreadfull to flesh and blood.

Cheisman dies in Prison

There is one remarkable passage reported of this Major Cheismans Lady, which because it sounds to the honor of her sex, and consequently of all loveing Wives, I will not deny it a roome in this Narrative.

When that the Major was brought into the Governours presence, and by him demanded, what made him to ingage in Bacons designes? Before that the Major could frame an answer to the Governours demand; his Wife steps in and tould his honour that it was her provocations that made her Husband joyne in the cause that Bacon contended for; ading, that if he had not bin influenced by her instigations, he had never don that which he had done. Therefore (upon her bended knees) she desired of his honour, that since what her husband had done, was by her meanes, and so, by consequence, she most guilty, that she might be hanged, and he pardoned. Though the Governour did know, that what she had saide, was neare to the truth, yet he said litle to her request, onely telling of her that she was a W——. But his honour was angrey, and therefore this expression must be interprited the efects of his passion, not his meaneing: For it is to be understood in reason, that there is not any woman, who hath so small affection for her Husband, as to dishonour him by her dishonisty, and yet retaine such a degree of love, that rather then he should be hanged, she will be content to submit her owne life to the sentance, to keep her husband from the gallows.

Mrs. Cheismans grate affections for her husband.

A kinde wife.

Capt. Carver and Capt. Farlow was now (or about this time) executed, as is before hinted. Farlow was related to Cheisman, as he had maried Farlows neice. When that he went first into the servis (which

Capt. Farlow executed.

was presently after that Bacon had receved his commission) he was chosen commander of those recrutes sent out of Yorke County, to make up Bacons numbers, according to the gage of his commission, limited for the Indian servis; and by Sir William (or some one of the Councell) recommended to Bacon, as a fitt parson to be commander of the saide party. These terms, by which he became ingaged, under Bacons commands, he urged in his pley, at his triall: ading, that if he had, in what he had don, denyed the Generalls orders, it was in his power to hang him, by the judgment of a Court Martiall; and that he had acted nothing but in obedience to the Generalls Authority. But it was replide against him, that he was put under Bacons command for the servis of the countrey, against the Indians, which employ he ought to have kep to, and not to have acted beyond his bounds, as he had done: And since he went into the Army under the Governours orders, he was required to search the same, and see if he could find one that Commissionated him to take up Arms in opposition to the Governours Authority and parson: Neather had Bacon any other power, by his commission (had the same bin ever so legally obtained) but onely to make war upon the Indians. Farlow rejoyned, that Bacon was, by his commission, to see that the Kings peace was kep, and to suppress those that should endeavour to Perturbe the same. It was replyed, this might be granted him, and he might make his advantage of it, but was required to consider, whether the Kings peace was to be kep in resisting the Kings emediate Governour, so as to levy a war against him; and so commanded him to be silent while his sentence was pronounced. This man was much pittied by those who were acquainted with him, as one of a peaceable disposition, and a good scholer, which one might think should have enabled him to have taken a better estimate of his imployment, as he was acquainted with the Mathumaticks: But it seems the Asstrolabe, or Quadrant, are not the fittest instruments to take the altitude of a subjects duty; the same being better demonstrated by practicall, not speculative observations.

Sir W. removes to York river.

The nimble and timely servis, performed by Major Beverly (before mentioned) haveing opened the way, in some measure, the Governour once more salleyeth out for the Westerne shore, there to make tryall of his better fortune; which now began to cast a more favourable aspect upon him and his affaires; by removeing the maine obsticles out of the way, by a death, eather natureall or violent, (the one the ordnary, the other the extraordinary workings of Providence) which had with such pertinances, and violent perstringes,

oposed his most auspicious proseedings. The last time he came, he made choyce of Iames River; now he was resolved to set up his rest in Yorke, as haveing the nearest vicinity to Gloster County (the River onely interposeing betwene it and Yorke) in which though the enemie was the strongest (as desireing to make it the seate of the Warr in regard of severall locall conveniences) yet in it he knew that his friends was not the weakest, whether wee respect number, or furniture. It is trew they had taken the ingagement (as the rest had) to Bacon; but he being dead and the ingagement being only personall, was lade in the grave with him, for it was not made to himselfe, his heirs, executors, administrater, and assignes; if other ways it might have bin indued with a kind of immortality; unless the sword, or juster (or grater) power might happen to wound it to death. But, however, Bacon being dead, and with him his Commission, all those, who had taken the ingagement, were now at liberty to go and chuse themselves another master.

But though his honour knew that though they were discharged from the binding power of the oath, yet they were not free from the commanding power of those men that was still in Arms, in persuance of those ends for which the ingagement was pretended to be taken: And that before this could be efected, those men must first be beaten from their arms, before the other could get their heeles at liberty, to do him any servis. Therefore he began to cast about how he might remove those blocks which stoode in the Gloster mens way: which being once don, it must take away all Pretences, and leave them without all excuse, if they should offer to sit still, when he, and his good providence together, had not onely knock'd off their shackles, but eather imprissoned their Iaylers, or tide them up to the gallows.

The strength Sir Will. had, at his coming to Yorke.

He had with him now in Yorke River 4 shipps besides 2 or 3 sloops. Three of the ships he brought with him from Accomack; the other (a marchant-man, as the rest were) was som time before arrived out of England, and in these about 150 men, at his emediate command; and no more he had when he came into Yorke River: Where being setled in consultation with his friends, for the manageing of his affaires, to the best advantage; he was informed that there was a party of the Baconians (for so they were still denominated, on that side, for destinction sake) that had setled themselves in their winter quarters, at the howse of one Mr. Howards, in Gloster county.

For to keepe these Vermin from breeding, in their warm kenill, he thought good, in time, for to get them ferited out.

For the accomplishment of which peice of servis, he very secretly despatcheth away a select number under the conduct of Major Beverly, who very nimbly performed the same, having the good fortune (as it is saide) to catch them all asleepe. And least the good man of the howse should forgett this good servis, that Beverly had don him, in removeing his (to him) chargable guest, with these sleepers, he conveyes a good quantety of their landlords goods aborde: the Baconians (where of one a Leift. Collonell) to remane prissoners, and the goods to be divided amongst those whose servis had made them such, according to the Law of Arms; which Howard will have to be the Law of HARMS, by placeing the first letter of his name before the vowill A.

Beverly surpriseth Coll: Harris, in Gloster.

But in ernist (and to leave jesting) Howard did really think it hard measure, to see that go out of his store, by the sword, which he intended to deliver out by the Ell, or yard. Neather could his wife halfe like the markitt; when she saw the Chapmen carey her Daughters Husband away Prissoner, and her owne fine clothes goeing into captivity; to be sould by match and pin; and after worne by those who (before these times) was not worth a point; yet it is thought, that the ould Gent: woman, was not so much concerned that her Son in Law was made a prissoner, as her Daughter was vext, to see they had not left one man upon the Plantation, to comfort neather herself nor mother.

This Block (and no less was the commander of the forementioned sleepers) being removed out of the way, the Gloster men began to stir abrode: not provoked thereto out of any hopes of getting, but through a feare of loseing. They did plainly perceve that if they themselves did not goe to worke, somebody ells would, while they (for their neglegence) might be compeld to pay them their wages; and what that might come to they could not tell, since it was probable, in such servises, the Laberours would be their own carvers; and it is commonly knowne, that soulders make no conscience to take more then their due.

The Gloster men rise for Sir W.

The worke that was now to be don, in these parts (and further I cannot go for want of a guide) was cut out into severall parcells, according as the Baconians had devided the same. And first at Wests Point (an Isthmos which gives the denomination to the two Rivers, Pomankey and Mattapony (Indian names) that branch forth of York River, som 30 miles above Tindells point) there was planted a garde of about 200 soulders. This place Bacon had de-

What soulders at West Point.

signed to make his prime Randevouze, or place of Retreat, in respect of severall locall convenencis, this place admited off, and which hee found fitt for his purpose, for sundry reasons. Here it was, I thinke, that Ingram did chiefly reside, and from whence he drew his recruts, of men and munition. The next Parcell, considerable, was at Green-spring (the Governours howse) into which was put about 100 men and boys, under the command of one Capt. Drew; who was ressolutely bent (as he said) to keep the place in spite of all oppossition, and that he might the better keepe his promise he caused all the Avenues, and approaches to the same, to be baracadoed up, and 3 great guns planted to beate of the Assalents. A third parcell (of about 30 or 40) was put into the howse of Collonell Nath. Bacons (a gent: man related to him deceased, but not of his principles) under the command of one Major Whaly, a stout ignorant fellow (as most of the rest) as may be seene hereafter; these were the most considerablest parteys that the Gloster men were to deal with, and which they had promised to reduce to obediance, or other ways to beate them out of their lives, as som of them (perhaps not well aquainted with millitary affairs, or too well conseated of there owne vallour) bosted to doe.

At Greene Spring.

At Collonell Bacons.

The Parson that, by commission, was to perform this worke, was one Major Lawrence Smith (and for this servis so entitled, as it is said) a gent: man that in his time had hued out many a knotty peice of worke, and soe the better knew how to handle such ruged fellowes as the Baconians were famed to be.

The place for him to congregate his men at (I say congregate as a word not improper, since his second in dignity, was a Minester, who had lade downe the Miter and taken up the Helmett) was at one Major Pates (in whose howse Bacon had surrendred up both life and commission; the one to him that gave it, the other to him that toke it) where there appeared men enough to have beaten all the Rebells in the countrey, onely with their Axes and Hoes, had they bin led on by a good overseer.

I have eather heard, or have read, That a compleate Generall ought to be owner of these 3 induments: Wisdom to foresee, Experience to chuse, and Curage to execute. He that wants the 2 last, can never have the first; since a wise man will never undertake more then he is able to perform; He that hath the 2 first, wanting the last, makes but a lame commander; since Curage is an inseperable Adjunct to the bare name of a soulder, much more to a Generall: He that wants the second, haveing the first

The properties of a good generall.

and the last, is no less imperfict than the other; since without experience, wisdom and curage (like yong Doctors) do but grope in the darke, or strike by gess.

A rising in Midlesex

Much about the time that the Gloster men mustred at M. Pates, there was a riseing in Midlesex, upon the same account: Who were no sooner gott upon their feet, but the Baconians resolves to bring them on their knees. For the efecting of which Ingram speeds away one Walklett, his Leift. Generall, (a man much like the master) with a party of Horss, to do the worke.

Walklett sent to suppress it.

M. L. Smith was quickly informed upon what arend Walklett was sent, and so, with a generous ressolution, resolves to be at his heeles, if not before hand with him, to helpe his friends in their distress.

Smith marches after Walklett.

And because he would not all together trust to others, in affaires of this nature, he advanceth at the head of his owne Troops, (what Horss what Foote for number, is not in my intillegence) leaveing the rest for to fortify Major Pates howse, and so speeds after Walklett who, before Smith could reach the required distance, had performed his worke, with litle labour, and (hereing of Smiths advance) was prepareing to give him a Reception answerable to his designements: swareing to fight him though Smith should out number him cent per cent; and was not this a dareing ressolution of a Boy that hardly ever saw a sword, but in a scaberd?

In the meane time that this buisness was a doeing, Ingram understanding upon what designe M. L. Smith was gon about, by the advice of his officers strikes in betweene him and his new made (and new mand) Garrisson at M. Pates. He very nimbly invests the Howse, and then summons the soulders (then under the command of the fore said minester) to a speedy rendition or otherways to stand out to mercy, at their utmost perill. After som toos and froes about the buisness (quite beyond his text) the minester accepts of such Articles, for a surrender, as pleased Ingram, and his Mermidons, to grant.

Ingram takes the Gloster men at M. Pates.

Ingram had no sooner don this jobb of jurney worke (of which he was not a litle proud) but M. L. Smith (haveing retracted his march out of Midlesex, as thinkeing it little less then a disparagement to have any thing to doe with Walklett) was upon the back of Ingram before he was aware, and at which he was not a litle daunted, feareing that he had beate Walklett to pieces in Midlesex. But he perceving that the Gloster men did not weare (in

M. L. Smith retracts his march from Walklett.

their faces, the countinances of conquerers, nor their cloathes the marks of any late ingagement (being free from the honourable staines of Wounds and Gun shott) he began to hope the best, and the Gloster men to feare the worst: and what the properties of feare is, let Feltham tell you, who saith, That if curage be a good oriter, feare is a bad counceller, and a worse Ingineare. For instead of erecting, it beates and batters downe all Bull-works of defence: perswadeing the feeble hart that there is no safety in armed Troops, Iron gates, nor Stone walls. In opposition of which Passion I will appose the Properties of its Antithesis, and say, That as som men are never vallent but in the midst of discourse, so others never manifest their curage but in the midst of danger: Never more alive then when in the jawes of Death, crowded up in the midst of fire, smoke, swords and guns; and then not so much laying about them through desperation, or to save their lives, as through a Generossety of Spirit, to trample upon the lives of their enimies.

Major Bristow chall: to Inram.

For the saveing of Pouder and Shott (or rather through the before mentioned Generossety of curage) one Major Bristow (on Smiths side) made a Motion to try the equity, and justness of the quarrill, by single combett: Bristow proffering himselfe against any one (being a Gent.) on the other side; this was noble, and like a soulder. This motion (or rather challenge) was as redely accepted by Ingram, as proffered by Bristow; Ingram swareing, the newest oath in fashion, that he would be the Man; and so advanceth on foot, with sword and Pistell, against Bristow; but was fetched back by his owne men, as douteing the justness of their cause, or in consideration of the desparety that was betwene the two Antagonists. For though it might be granted, that in a private condition, Bristow was the better man, yet now it was not to be alowed, as Ingram was entitled.

This buisness not fadging, betwene the two champions, the Gloster men began to entertaine strange, and new Ressolutions, quite Retrogade to their pretentions, and what was by all good men expected from the promiseing asspects of this there Leagueing against a usurping power. It is said that a good cause and a good Deputation, is a lawfull Authorety for any man to fight by; yet neather of these, joyntly nor severally, hath a coercive power, to make a man a good soulder: If he wants Courage, though he is inlisted under both, yet is he not starling quoyne: he is at best but Coper, stampt with the Kings impress, and will pass for no more then his just vallew. As to a good cause, doutless, they had satisfied themselves as to that, ells what were

they at this time a contending for, and for whom? And as for a good Deputation, if they wanted that, wherefore did they so miserably befoole themselves, as to run into the mouths of their enimies, and there to stand still like a company of sheep, with the knife at their throtes, and never so much as offer to Bleat; for the saveing of their lives, liberties, estates, and what to truly vallient men is of greater vallew then these, their creditts? all which now lay at the mercy of their enimies, by a tame surrender of their Arms and Parsons into the hands of Ingram (without strikeing one stroke) who haveing made all the cheife men prissoners (excepting those who first run away) he dismist the rest to there owne abodes, there to sum up the number of those that were eather slane or wounded, in this servis.

The Gloster men submit to Ingram.

Much about this time, of the Gloster buisness, his hon. sends abrode a party of men, from off aboarde, under the command of one Hubert Farrill, to fferitt out a company of the Rebells, who kep Gard at Coll. Bacons, under the power of Major Whaley, before mentioned. Coll. Bacon himselfe, and one Coll: Ludwell, came along with Farrill, to see to the management of the enterprise; about which they tooke all possible care, that it might prove fortunate. For they had so sooner resolved upon the onsett, but they consult on the manner, which was to be effected by a Generossety paralell with the designe; which required Curage, and expedition: and so concludes not to answer the Centreys by fireing; but to take, kill, or drive them up to their Avenues, and then to enter pell mell with them into the howse: this method was good had it bin as well executed, as contrived. But the Centrey had no sooner made the challinge, with his mouth, demanding who coms there? but the other answer with their Musquits (which seldom speakes the language of friends) and that in so loud a maner, that it alaramed those in the howse to a defence, and then into a posture to salley out. Which the other perceveing (contrary to their first orders) wheeles of from the danger, to finde a place for their securytie, which they in part found, behinde som out buildings, and from whence they fired one upon the other, giveing the Bullits leave to grope their owne way in the dark (for as yet it was not day) till the Generall was shot through his loynes; and in his fate all the soulders (or the greater part) through their hearts, now sunke into their heels which they were now making use of instead of their hands, the better to save their jackits, of which they had bin certainely stript, had they com under ther enimies

Farrill attemps the Baconians under Whalys command.

Farrill killed.

fingers, who knowes better how to steale then fight, notwithstanding this uneven cast of Fortunes mallize. Being a conflict, in which the losers have cause to repent, and the winers Faith to give God thanks ; unless with the same devotion Theives do when that they have stript honest men out of their mony. Here was none but their Generall kild, whose commission was found droping-wett with his owne blood, in his pockitt ; and 3 or 4 taken prisoners ; what wounded not knowne, if any, in their backs; as their enimies say; who gloryed more in their Conquest then ever Scanderbeg did, for the greatest victory he ever obtained against the Turkes. If Sir Williams cause were no better then his fortunes, hitherto, how many prossellites might his disasters bring over to the tother side ? but God forbid that the justice of all quarills should be estimated by their events.

Yet here in this action (as well as som other before) who can chuse but deplore the strange fate that the Governour was subjected to, in the evill choyce of his cheife-commanders, for the leadeing on his millitary transactions; that when his cause should com to a day of heareing, they should want curage to put in their pley of defence, against their Adverssarys arguments ; and pittyfully to stand still and see themselves nonsuted, in every sneaking adventure, or Action, that called upon their Generossety, (if they had had any) to vindicate their indubitable pretences against a usurped power.

It is trew Whalys condition was desperate, and hee was resolved that his Curage should be conformable and as desperate as his condition. He did not want intilligence how Hansford, and som others, was sarved at Accomack ; which made him thinke it a grate deale better to dye like a man, then to be hanged like a Dogg ; if that his Fate would but give him the liberty of picking as well as he had taken the liberty of stealeing ; of which unsoulder-like quallety he was fowly guilty. But let Whalys condition be never so desperate, and that he was resolved to manage an oppossition against his Assalent according to his condition, yet those in the Howse with him stoode upon other terms, being two thirds (and the wholl exseeded not 40) prest into the servis, much against their will ; and had a grater antipethy against Whaly then they had any cause for to feare his fate, if he, and they too, had bin taken. As for that objection, that Farrill was not, at this time, fully cured of those Wounds he receved in the salley at Towne, which in this action proved detrimentall both to his strength and curage : Why then (if it was so) did he accept of this imploy (he haveing the liberty of refuseing) since

none could be better acquainted with his owne condition (eather for strength or curage) better then himselfe? Certainely in this particular, Farrills foolish ostentation was not excuseable, nor Sir William without blame, to complye with his ambition, as he had no other parts to prove himselfe a soulder, then a haire brained ressolution to put himselfe forward in those affaires he had no more acquaintance with then what he had heard people talke off: For the falure of this enterprise (which must wholly be refered to the breach he made upon their sedulous determinations) which was (as is intimated before, to croude into the Howse with the Centrey) not onely injurious to their owne party by letting slip so faire an occasion, to weaken the power of the enimy, by removeing Whaly out of the way, who was esteemed the most considerablest parson on that side; but it was and did prove of bad consequence to the adjacent parts, where he kep gard: For whereas before he did onely take ame where he might do mischeife, he now did mischeife without takeing ame: before this unhapie conflict, he did levie at this, or that particular onely, but now he shott at Rovers, let the same lite where it would he mattered not.

Ingram reduced by Grantham.

Capt: Grantham had, now, bin som time in Yorke River. A man unto whom Verginia is very much beholden for his neate contrivance, in bringing Ingram (and som others) over to harken to reason. With Ingram he had som small acquaintance, for it was in his ship that he came to Verginia; and so resolved to try if he might not doe that by words, which others could not accomplish with swords. Now allthough he knew that Ingram was the point, where all the lines of his contrivance were for to center, yet he could not tell, very well, how to obtaine this point. For allthough he did know that Ingram, in his private condition, was accostable enough; yet since the Tit Mouse (by one of Fortunes figaryes) was becom an Elliphant, he did not know but that his pride, might be as immence as his power: since the Peacock (though bred upon a Dung-hill) is no less proud of his fine fethers then the princely Eagle is of his noble curage. What Arguments Grantham made use of, to ring the sword out of Ingrams hand, to me is not visible, more then what he tould me of; which I thinke was not Mercuri all enough, against an ordnary Sophester. But to speake the truth it may be imagined that Grantham (at this time) could not bring more reasons to convince Ingram, then Ingram had in his owne head to convince himselfe; and so did onely awate some favourable overtures (and such as Grantham might, it is possible, now make) to bring him over to the tother side. Neather could he appre-

hend more reason in Granthams Arguments, then in his owne affaires, which now provoked him to dismount from the back of that Horss which he wanted skill and strength to manidge; especially there being som of his owne party, wateing an opertunity to toss him out of the sadle, of his new mounted honours; and of whose designes he wanted not som intilligence, in the countinances of his Mermidons; who began for to looke a skew upon this, their Milk-sopp Generall; who they judged fitter to dance upon a Rope, or in som of his wenches lapps, then to caper, eather to Bellonies Bagpipe, or Marsses whisle.

But though Ingram was won upon, to turn honist, in this thing (thanks to the necessitye, which made it an act of compultion, not a free will offering) yet was the worke but halfe don, untill the soulders were wrought upon to follow his example. And though he himselfe, or any body ells, might command them to take up their Arms, when any mischeife was to be don: yet it was a question whether he, or any in the countrye, could command them to lay downe their Arms, for to efect or do any good. In such a case as this, where Authority wants power, descretion must be made use of, as a vertue surmounting a brutish force. Grantham, though he had bin but a while in the countrey, and had seene but litle, as to mater of Action, yet he had heard a grate deale; and so much that the name of Authority had but litle power to ring the sword out of these mad fellows hands, as he did perceve. And that there was more hopes to efect that by smoothe words, which was never likely to be accomplished by rough deeds: therefore he resolved to accoste them, as the Devill courted Eve, though to a better purpose, with never to be performed promises: counting it no sin to Ludificate those for their good, that had bin deceved by others to their hurt. He knew that men were to be treated as such, and children according to their childish dispossitions: And allthough it was not with both these he was now to deale, yet he was to observe the severall tempers of those he was to worke upon.

Grantham at West Point.

What number of soulders was, at this time, in Garrisson at West Point, I am not certaine: It is saide about 250, sumed up in freemen, sarvants and slaves; these three ingredience being the compossition of Bacons Army, ever since that the Governour left Towne. These was informed (to prepare the way) two or three days before that Grantham came to them, that there was a treaty on foote betwene there Generall, and the Governour; and that Grantham did manely promote the same, as he was a parson that favoured the cause, that they were contending for.

When that Grantham arived, amongst these fine fellowes, he

was receved with more then an ordnary respect; which he haveing repade, with a suteable deportment, he aquaints them with his commission, which was to tell them, that there was a peace concluded betwene the Governour and their Generall; an since himself had (in some measure) used his indeviours, to bring the same to pass, hee begged of the Governour, that he might have the honor to com and aquaint them with the terms; which he saide was such, that they had all cause to rejoyce at, then any ways to thinke hardly of the same; there being a compleate satisfaction to be given (by the Articles of agreement) according to every ones particuler intress; which he sumed up under these heads. And first, those that were now in Arms (and free men) under the Generall, were still to be retained in Arms, if they so pleased, against the Indians. Secondly, and for those who had a desire for to return hom, to their owne abodes, care was taken for to have them satisfide, for the time they had bin out, according to the alowance made the last Assembley. And lastly, those that were sarvants in Arms, and behaved themselves well, in their imployment, should emediately receve discharges from their Indentures, signed by the Governour or Sequetary of State; and their Masters to receve, from the publick, a valluable satisfaction, for every sarvant, so set free (marke the words) proportionably to the time that they have to sarve.

Upon what terms West Point was surrendred.

Upon these terms, the soulders forsake West Point, and goe with Grantham to kiss the Governours hands (still at Tindells point) and to receve the benefitt of the Articles, mentioned by Grantham; where when they came (which was by water, themselves in one vessill, and their arms in another; and so contrived by Grantham, as he tould me himselfe, upon good reason) the sarvants and slaves was sent hom to their Masters, there to stay till the Governour had leasure to signe their discharges; or to say better, till they were free according to the custom of the countrey, the rest was made prissoners, or entertained by the Governour, as hee found them inclined.

Of all the obstickles that hath, hitherto, lane in the Governours way, there is not one (which hath falne within the verge of my intilligence) that hath bin removed by the sword; excepting what was performed under the conduct of Beverly: How this undertaken by Grantham, was effected, you have heard; though badly (as the rest) by me sumed up. The next, that is taken notis of, is that at Greene Spring (before hinted) under the command of one Capt: Drew, formerly a miller (by profession)

Greene Spring secured for William.

though now Dignifide with the title of a Capt: and made Governour of this place by Bacon, as he was a parson formerly beholden unto Sir William; and soe, by way of requiteall, most likely to keepe him out of his owne Howse. This Whisker of Whorly-Giggs, perceving (now) that there was more water coming downe upon his Mill, then the Dam would houlde, thought best in time, to fortifye the same, least all should be borne downe before he had taken his toule. Which haveing effected (makeing it the strongest place in the country what with grate and small Gunns) he stands upon his gard, and refuseth to surrender, but upon his owne terms: which being granted, he secures the place till such time as Sir William should, in parson, com and take possession of the same: And was not this pritely, honestly, don, of a Miller.

The gratest difficulty, now to be performed, was to remove Drummond and Larance out of the way. These two men was excepted out of the Governours pardon, by his Proclamation of Iune last, and severall papers since, and for to dye without marcy, whenever taken: as they were the cheife Incendiarys, and promoters to, and for Bacons Designes; and by whose councells all transactions were, for the grater part, managed all along on that side. Drummond was formerly Governour of Carolina, and allways esteemed a Parson of such induments, where wisdom and honisty are contending for superiority; which rendred him to be one of that sort of people, whose dementions are not to be taken, by the line of an ordnary capassety. Larance was late one of the Assembley, and Burgis for Towne, in which he was a liver. He was a Parson not meanely aquainted with such learning (besides his natureall parts) that enables a man for the management of more then ordnary imployments which he subjected to an eclips, as well in the transactions of the present affaires, as in the darke imbraces of a Blackamoore, his slave: And that in so fond a maner, as though Venus was cheifly to be worshiped in the Image of a Negro; or that Buty consisted all together in the Antiphety of Complections: to the noe meane scandle, and affrunt, of all the vottrisses in or about towne.

Short carreer of Drummond and Larance.

When that West Point was surrendred, and Greene Spring secured, for the Governour, these two Gen: was at the Brick-howse, in New-Kent: a place situate allmost oppossitt to West Point, on the South side of Yorke River, and not 2 miles removed from the saide point, with som soulders under their command; for to keepe the Governours Men from landing on

Drummond and Coll. Larance at the Brick-howse, at New-Kent.

that side; he haveing a ship, at that time, at Ancor nere the place. They had made som attemps to have hindred Granthams designes (of which they had gained som intilligence) but their indeviours not fadging, they sent downe to Coll. Bacons to fetch of the Gard there, under the command of Whaley, to reinforce their own strength.

CÆTERA DESUNT.

NEW--ENGLANDS

PLANTATION.

OR,

A SHORT AND TRVE

DESCRIPTION OF THE

COMMODITIES AND

DISCOMMODITIES

of that Countrey.

Written by a reuerend Diuine now there resident.

LONDON,

Printed by *T. C.* and *R. C.* for *Michael Sparke*, dwelling at the Signe of the *Blue Bible* in *Greene Arbor* in the little *Old Bailey*.

1630.

P. Force, *Washington*, 1835.

To the Reader.

READER, doe not disdaine to read this Relation; and looke not here to haue a large Gate and no building within; a full-stuffed Title with no matter in the Booke: But here reade the truth, and that thou shalt find without any frothy bumbasted words, or any quaint new-deuised additions, onely as it was written (not intended for the Presse) by a reuerend Diuine now there liuing, who onely sent it to some Friends here, which were desirous of his Relations; which is an Epitomy of their proceedings in the Plantation. And for thy Part if thou meanest to be no Planter nor Venturer, doe but lend thy good Prayers for the furthrance of it. And so I rest a well-wisher to all the good designes both of them which are gone, and of them that are to goe.

M. S.

NEW-ENGLANDS

PLANTATION.

LEtting passe our Voyage by Sea, we will now begin our discourse on the shore of *New-England.* And because the life and wel-fare of euerie Creature here below, and the commodiousnesse of the Countrey whereas such Creatures liue, doth by the most wise ordering of Gods prouidence, depend next vnto himselfe, vpon the temperature and disposition of the foure Elements, Earth, Water, Aire and Fire (For as of the mixture of all these, all sublunarie things are composed; so by the more or lesse injoyment of the wholesome temper and conuenient vse of these, consisteth the onely well-being both of Man and Beast in a more or lesse comfortable measure in all Countreys vnder the Heauens) Therefore I will endeauour to shew your what *New-England* is by the consideration of each of these apart, and truly endeauour by Gods helpe to report nothing but the naked truth, and that both to tell you of the discommodities as well as of the commodities, though as the idle Prouerbe is, *Trauellers may lye by authoritie*, and so may take too much sinfull libertie that way. Yet I may say of my selfe as once *Nehemiah* did in another case: *Shall such a Man as I lye?* No verily; It becommeth not a Preacher of Truth to be a Writer of Falshood in any degree: and therefore I haue beene carefull to report nothing of *New-England* but what I haue partly seene with mine owne Eyes, and partly heard and enquired from the Mouthes of verie honest and religious persons, who by liuing in the Countrey a good space of time haue had experience and knowledge of the state thereof, and whose testimonies I doe beleeue as my selfe.

First therefore of the Earth of *New-England* and all the

appurtenances thereof; It is a Land of diuers and sundry sorts all about *Masathulets* Bay, and at *Charles* Riuer is as fat blacke Earth as can be seene any where: and in other places you haue a clay soyle, in other grauell, in other sandy, as it is all about our Plantation at *Salem*, for so our Towne is now named, *Psal.* 76.2.

The forme of the Earth here in the superficies of it is neither too flat in the plainnesse, nor too high in Hils, but partakes of both in a mediocritie, and fit for Pasture, or for Plow or Meddow ground, as Men please to employ it: though all the Countrey be as it were a thicke Wood for the generall, yet in diuers places there is much ground cleared by the *Indians*, and especially about the Plantation: and I am told that about three miles from vs a Man may stand on a little hilly place and see diuers thousands of acres of ground as good as need to be, and not a Tree in the same. It is thought here is good Clay to make Bricke and Tyles and Earthen-Pots as needs to be. At this instant we are setting a Bricke-Kil on worke to make Brickes and Tyles for the building of our Houses. For Stone, here is plentie of Slates at the Ile of Slate in *Masathulets* Bay, and Lime-stone, Free-stone, and Smooth-stone, and Iron-stone, and Marble-stone also in such store, that we haue great Rockes of it, and a Harbour hard by. Our Plantation is from thence called Marble-harbour.

Of Minerals there hath yet beene but little trial made, yet we are not without great hope of being furnished in that Soyle.

The fertilitie of the Soyle is to be admired at, as appeareth in the aboundance of Grasse that groweth euerie where both verie thicke, verie long, and verie high in diuers places: but it groweth very wildly with a great stalke and a broad and ranker blade, because it neuer had been eaten with Cattle, nor mowed with a Sythe, and seldome trampled on by foot. It is scarce to be beleeued how our Kine and Goats, Horses and Hogges doe thriue and prosper here and like well of this Countrey.

In our Plantation we haue already a quart of Milke for a penny: but the aboundant encrease of Corne proues this Countrey to be a wonderment. Thirtie, fortie, fiftie, sixtie, are ordinarie here: yea *Iosephs* encrease in *Ægypt* is out-stript here with vs. Our Planters hope to haue more then a hundred fould this yeere: and all this while I am within compasse; what will you say of two hundred fould and vpwards? It is almost incredible what great gaine some of our English Planters haue had by our Indian Corne. Credible persons haue assured me, and the partie himselfe auouched the truth of it to me, that of the setting of 13 Gallons of Corne he hath had encrease of it 52 Hogsheads, euerie Hogshead holding seuen Bushels of *London* measure, and euerie

Bushell was by him sold and trusted to the *Indians* for so much Beauer as was worth 18 shillings; and so of this 13 Gallons of Corne which was worth 6 shillings 8 pence, he made about 327 pounds of it the yeere following, as by reckoning will appeare: where you may see how God blesseth husbandry in this Land. There is not such great and beautifull eares of Corne I suppose any where else to be found but in this Countrey: being also of varietie of colours, as red, blew and yellow, &c. and of one Corne there springeth foure or fiue hundred. I haue sent you many Eares of diuers colours that you might see the truth of it.

Little Children here by setting of Corne may earne much more then their owne maintenance.

They haue tryed our *English* Corne at new *Plimouth* Plantation, so that all our seuerall Graines will grow here verie well, and haue a fitting Soyle for their nature.

Our Gouernour hath store of greene Pease growing in his Garden as good as euer I eat in *England*.

This Countrey aboundeth naturally with store of Roots of great varietie and good to eat. Our Turnips, Parsnips and Carrots are here both bigger and sweeter then is ordinarily to be found in *England*. Here are also store of Pumpions, Cowcumbers, and other things of that nature which I know not. Also, diuers excellent Pot-herbs grow abundantly among the Grasse, as Strawberrie leaues in all places of the Countrey, and plentie of Strawberries in their time, and Penyroyall, Wintersauerie, Sorrell, Brookelime, Liuerwort, Caruell and Watercresses, also Leekes and Onions are ordinarie, and diuers Physicall Herbes. Here are also aboundance of other sweet Herbes delightful to the smell, whose names we know not, &c. and plentie of single Damaske Roses verie sweet; and two kinds of Herbes that beare two kind of Flowers very sweet, which they say, are as good to make Cordage or Cloath as any Hempe or Flaxe we haue.

Excellent Vines are here vp and downe in the Woods. Our Gouernour hath already planted a Vineyard with great hope of encrease.

Also, Mulberies, Plums, Raspberies, Corrance, Chesnuts, Filberds, Walnuts, Smalnuts, Hurtleberies and Hawes of Whitethorne neere as good as our Cherries in *England*, they grow in plentie here.

For Wood there is no better in the World I thinke, here being foure sorts of Oke differing both in the Leafe, Timber, and Colour, all excellent good. There is also good Ash, Eleme, Willow, Birch, Beech, Saxafras, Iuniper Cipres, Cedar, Spruce, Pines and Firre that will yeeld abundance of Terpentine, Pitch,

Tarre, Masts and other materials for building both of Ships and Houses. Also here are store of Sumacke Trees, they are good for dying and tanning of Leather, likewise such Trees yeeld a precious Gum called White Beniamen, that they say is excellent for perfumes. Also here be diuers Roots and Berries wherewith the *Indians* dye excellent holyday colours that no raine nor washing can alter. Also, wee haue materials to make Sope-Ashes and Salt-Peter in aboundance.

For Beasts there are some Beares, and they say some Lyons also; for they haue been seen at Cape *Anne*. Also here are seuerall sorts of Deere, some whereof bring three or foure young ones at once, which is not ordinarie in *England*. Also Wolues, Foxes, Beauers, Otters, Martins, great wild Cats, and a great Beast called a Molke as bigge as an Oxe. I have seen the Skins of all these Beasts since I came to this Plantation excepting Lyons. Also here are great store of Squerrels, some greater, and some smaller and lesser: there are some of the lesser sort, they tell me, that by a certaine Skin will fly from Tree to Tree though they stand farre distant.

Of the Waters of New-England *with the things belonging to the same.*

NEw-*England* hath Water enough both salt and fresh, the greatest Sea in the World, the *Atlanticke* Sea runs all along the Coast thereof. There are aboundance of Ilands along the Shore, some full of Wood and Mast to feed Swine; and others cleere of Wood, and fruitfull to beare Corne. Also we haue store of excellent harbours for Ships, as at Cape *Anne*, and at *Masathulets* Bay, and at *Salem*, and at many other places: and they are the better because for Strangers there is a verie difficult and dangerous passage into them, but vnto such as are well acquainted with them, they are easie and safe enough. The aboundance of Sea-Fish are almost beyond beleeuing, and sure I should scarce haue beleeued it except I had seene it with mine owne Eyes. I saw great store of Whales, and Crampusse, and such aboundance of Makerils that it would astonish one to behold, likewise Cod-Fish aboundance on the Coast, and in their season are plentifully taken. There is a Fish called a Basse, a most sweet and wholesome Fish as euer I did eat, it is altogether as good as our fresh Sammon, and the season of their comming was begun when we came first to *New-England* in *Iune*, and so continued about three months space. Of this Fish our Fishers take

many hundreds together, which I haue seene lying on the shore to my admiration; yea, their Nets ordinarily take more then they are able to hale to Land, and for want of Boats and Men they are constrained to let a many goe after they haue taken them, and yet sometimes they fill two Boats at a time with them. And besides Basse we take plentie of Scate and Thornbacke, and aboundance of Lobsters, that the least Boy in the Plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them. For my owne part I was soone cloyed with them, they were so great, and fat, and lussious. I haue seene some my selfe that haue weighed 16 pound, but others haue had diuers time so great Lobsters as haue weighed 25 pound, as they assured me. Also here is aboundance of Herring, Turbut, Sturgion, Cuskes, Hadocks, Mullets, Eeles, Crabs, Muskles and Oysters. Beside there is probabilitie that the Countrey is of an excellent temper for the making of Salt: for since our comming our Fishermen haue brought home verie good Salt which they found candied by the standing of the sea water and the heat of the Sunne, vpon a Rock by the Sea shore: and in diuers Salt Marishes that some haue gone through, they haue found some Salt in some places crushing vnder their Feet and cleauing to their Shoes.

And as for fresh Water the Countrey is full of daintie Springs, and some great Riuers, and some lesser Brookes; and at *Masathulets* Bay they digged Wels and found Water at three Foot deepe in most places: and neere *Salem* they haue as fine cleare Water as we can desire, and we may digge Wels and find Water where we list.

Thus we see both Land and Sea abound with store of blessings for the comfortable sustenance of Mans life in *New-England.*

Of the Aire of New-England *with the Temper and Creatures in it.*

THe Temper of the Aire of *New-England* is one speciall thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthfull place to be found in the World that agreeth better with our English Bodyes. Many that haue beene weake and sickly in old *England*, by comming hither haue beene thoroughly healed and growne healthful and strong. For here is an extraordinarie cleere and dry Aire that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a Cold, Melancholy, Flegmatick, Reumaticke temper of Body. None can more truly speake hereof by their owne experience then my selfe.

My Friends that knew me can well tell how verie sickly I haue been and continually in Physick, being much troubled with a tormenting paine through an extraordinarie weaknesse of my Stomacke, and aboundance of Melancholicke humours; but since I came hither on this Voyage, I thanke God I haue had perfect health, and freed from paine and vomitings, hauing a Stomacke to digest the hardest and coursest fare who before could not eat finest meat, and whereas my Stomacke could onely digest and did require such drinke as was both strong and stale, now I can and doe oftentimes drink *New-England* water verie well, and I that haue not gone without a Cap for many yeeres together, neither durst leaue off the same, haue now cast away my Cap, and doe weare none at all in the day time: and whereas beforetime I cloathed my selfe with double cloathes and thicke Wastcoats to keepe me warme, euen in the Summer time, I doe now goe as thin clad as any, onely wearing a light Stuffe Cassocke vpon my Shirt and Stuffe Breeches of one thickness without Linings. Besides I haue one of my Children that was fomerly most lamentably handled with sore breaking out of both his hands and feet of the Kings-Euill, but since he came hither he is verie well ouer hee was, and there is hope of perfect recouerie shortly, euen by the verie wholesomnesse of the Aire, altering, digesting and drying vp the cold and crude humours of the Body: and therefore I thinke it is a wise course for all cold complections to come to take Physicke in *New-England:* for a sup of *New-Englands* Aire is better then a whole draft of old *Englands* Ale.

In the Summer time in the midst of *Iuly* and *August*, it is a good deale hotter then in old *England:* and in Winter, *Ianuary* and *February* are much colder as they say: but the Spring and Autume are of a middle temper.

Fowles of the Aire are plentifull here, and of all sorts as we haue in *England* as farre as I can learne, and a great many of strange Fowles which we know not. Whilst I was writing these things, one of our Men brought home an Eagle which he had killed in the Wood: they say they are good meat. Also here are many kinds of excellent Hawkes, both Sea Hawkes and Land Hawkes: and my selfe walking in the Woods with another in company, sprung a Partridge so bigge that through the heauinesse of his Body could fly but a little way: they that haue killed them, say they are as bigge as our Hens. Here are likewise aboundance of Turkies often killed in the Woods, farre greater then our English Turkies, and exceeding fat, sweet and fleshy, for here they haue aboundance of feeding all the yeere long, as Strawberries, in Summer all places are full of them, and all

manner of Berries and Fruits. In the Winter time I haue seene Flockes of Pidgeons, and haue eaten of them: they doe flye from Tree to Tree as other Birds doe, which our Pidgeons will not doe in *England:* they are of all colours as ours are, but their wings and tayles are farr longer, and therefore it is likely they fly swifter to escape the terrible Hawkes in this Countrey. In Winter time this Countrey doth abound with wild Geese, wild Duckes, and other Sea Fowle, that a great part of winter the Planters haue eaten nothing but roastmeat of diuers Fowles which they haue killed.

Thus you haue heard of the Earth, Water and Aire of *New-England*, now it may be you expect something to be said of the Fire proportionable to the rest of the Elements.

Indeed I thinke *New-England* may boast of this Element more then of all the rest: for though it be here somthing cold in the winter, yet here we haue plentie of Fire to warme vs, and that a great deale cheaper then they sell Billets and Faggots in *London:* nay all *Europe* is not able to afford to make so great Fires as *New-England.* A poore Seruant here that is to possesse but 50 Acres of Land, may afford to giue more wood for Timber and Fire as good as the world yeelds, then many Noble Men in *England* can afford to doe. Here is good liuing for those that loue good Fires. And although *New-England* haue no Tallow to make Candles of, yet by the aboundance of the Fish thereof, it can afford Oyle for Lamps. Yea our Pine-Trees that are the most plentifull of all wood, doth allow vs plentie of Candles, which are verie vsefull in a House: and they are such Candles as the *Indians* commonly vse, hauing no other, and they are nothing else but the wood of the Pine Tree clouen in two little slices something thin, which are so full of the moysture of Turpentine and Pitch, that they burne as cleere as a Torch. I haue sent you some of them that you may see the experience of them.

Thus of *New-Englands* commodities, now I will tell you of some discommodities that are here to be found.

First, In the Summer season for these three months *Iune*, *Iuly* and *August*, we are troubled much with little Flyes called Musketoes, being the same they are troubled with in *Lincolnshiere* and the Fens: and they are nothing but Gnats, which except they be smoked out of their Howses are troublesome in the night season.

Secondly, In the Winter season for two months space the Earth is commonly couered with Snow, which is accompanied with sharp biting Frosts, something more sharpe then is in old *England*, and therefore are forced to make great Fires.

Thirdly, This Countrey being verie full of Woods and Wildernesses, doth also much abound with Snakes and Serpents of strange colours and huge greatnesse: yea there are some Serpents called Rattle Snakes, that haue Rattles in their Tayles that will not flye from a Man as others will, but will flye vpon him and sting him so mortally, that he will dye within a quarter of an houre after, except the partie stinged haue about him some of the root of an Hearbe called Snake weed to bite on, and then he shall receiue no harme: but yet seldome falles it out that any hurt is done by these. About three yeeres since an *Indian* was stung to death by one of them, but we heard of none since that time.

Fourthly and lastly, Here wants as yet the good company of honest Christains to bring with them Horses, Kine and Sheepe to make vse of this fruitfull Land: great pittie it is to see so much good ground for Corne and for Grasse as any is vnder the Heauens, to lye altogether vnoccupied, when so many honest Men and their Families in old *England* through the populousnesse thereof, do make very hard shift to liue one by the other.

Now, thus you know what *New-England* is, as also with the commodities and discommodities thereof: now I will shew you a little of the Inhabitants thereof, and their gouernment.

For their Gouernours they haue Kings, which they call *Saggamores*, some greater, and some lesser, according to the number of their Subiects.

The greatest *Saggamores* about vs can not make aboue three hundred Men, and other lesse *Saggamores* haue not aboue fifteene Subiects, and others neere about vs but two.

Their Subiects about twelue yeeres since were swept away by a great and grieuous Plague that was amongst them, so that there are verie few left to inhabite the Countrey.

The *Indians* are not able to make vse of the one fourth part of the Land, neither haue they any settled places, as Townes to dwell in, nor any ground as they challenge for their owne possession, but change their habitation from place to place.

For their Statures, they are a tall and strong limmed People, their colours are tawny, they goe naked, saue onely they are in part couered with Beasts Skins on one of their Shoulders, and weare something before their Priuities: their Haire is generally blacke, and cut before like our Gentlewomen, and one locke longer then the rest, much like to our Gentlemen, which fashion I thinke came from hence into *England*.

For their weapons, they haue Bowes and Arrowes, some of them headed with Bone, and some with Brasse: I haue sent you some of them for an example.

The Men for the most part liue idlely, they doe nothing but hunt and fish: their wiues set their Corne and doe all their other worke. They haue little Houshold stuffe, as a Kettle, and some other Vessels like Trayes, Spoones, Dishes and Baskets.

Their Houses are verie little and homely, being made with small Poles pricked into the ground, and so bended and fastned at the tops, and on the sides they are matted with Boughes, and couered on the Roofe with Sedge and old Mats, and for their beds that they take their rest on, they haue a Mat.

They doe generally professe to like well of our comming and planting here; partly because there is abundance of ground that they cannot possesse nor make vse of, and partly because our being here will be a meanes both of reliefe to them when they want, and also a defence from their Enemies, wherewith (I say) before this Plantation begun, they were often indangered.

For their Religion, they doe worship two Gods, a good God and an euill God: the good God they call *Tantum*, and their euill God whom they feare will doe them hurt, they call *Squantum*.

For their dealing with vs, we neither feare them nor trust them, for fourtie of our Musketeeres will driue five hundred of them out of the Field. We vse them kindly, they will come into our Houses sometimes by halfe a douzen or halfe a score at a time when we are at victuals, but will aske or take nothing but what we giue them.

We purpose to learne their Language as soone as we can, which will be a meanes to do them good.

Of the Present Condition of the Plantation, and what it is.

WHen we came first to *Neihum-kek*, we found about halfe a score Houses, and a faire House newly built for the Gouernour, we found also aboundance of Corne planted by them, verie good and well likeing. And we brought with vs about two hundred Passengers and Planters more, which by common consent of the old Planters were all combined together into one Body politicke, vnder the some Gouernour.

There are in all of vs both old and new Planters about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at *Neihum-kek*, now called *Salem:* and the rest haue Planted themselues at *Masathulets* Bay, beginning to build a Towne there which we doe call *Cherton*, or *Charles* Towne.

We that are settled at *Salem* make what hast we can to build Houses, so that within a short time we shall haue a faire Towne.

We have great Ordnance, wherewith we doubt not but we shall fortifie our selues in a short time to keepe out a potent Aduersarie. But that which is our greatest comfort, and meanes of defence aboue all other, is, that we haue here the true Religion and holy Ordinances of Almightie God taught amongst vs: Thankes be to God, we haue plentie of Preaching, and diligent Catechizing, with strickt and carefull exercise, and good and commendable orders to bring our People into a Christian conuersation with whom we haue to doe withall. And thus we doubt not but God will be with vs, and *if God be with vs, who can be against vs?*

FINIS.

A

PETITION

OF *W. C.*

EXHIBITED

TO THE HIGH

COVRT OF PARLIAMENT

now assembled, for the propagating of the Gospel in *America*, and the *West Indies;* and for the setling of our Plantations there;

Which Petition is approved by 70 able English Divines.

Also by Master *Alexander Henderson*, and some other worthy Ministers *of Scotland.*

Printed in the yeare, 1641.

P. Force, *Washington*, 1835.

TO THE
MOST HIGH
AND
HONOVRABLE
Court of PARLIAMENT
now assembled.

The humble *PETITION* of *William Castell*, Parson of *Courtenhall* in *Northamptonshire*, for the propagating of the Gospel in *America*.

IN all humble manner sheweth unto your approved wisedomes, the great and generall neglect of this Kingdome, in not propagating the glorious Gospel in *America*, a maine part of the world: Indeed the undertaking of the worke is (in the generall) acknowledged pious and charitable; but the small prosecution that hath hitherto beene made of it, either by us, or others, having as yet) never beene generally undertaken in pitty to mens soules, but in hope to possesse land of those Infidels, or of gaine by Commerce, may well make this and all other Christian Kingdomes confess, they have beene exceeding remisse in performing this so religious, so great, so necessary a worke.

May it therefore please your wisedomes to give your *Petitioner* leave to propose briefly, (as the nature of a Petition requireth) the more then ordinary piety, and charity of the worke; the evident necessity, and benefit of undertaking, together with the easinesse of effecting.

A greater expression of piety (your *Petitioner* conceiveth) there

cannot be, then to make God known where he was never spoken nor thought of, to advance the Scepter of Christs Kingdome. And now againe to reduce those, who (at first) were created after the Image of God from the manifest worship of devils; To acknowledge and adore the blessed Trinitie in Vnity, to doe this, is to be happy Instruments of effecting those often repeated promises of God, in making all nations blessed by the comming of Christ, and by sending his word to all lands: it is to inlarge greatly the pale of the Church, And to make those (who were the most detestable Synagogues of Sathan) delightful Temples of the Holy Ghost.

It was a high point of piety in the Queen of the South, to come from the utmost parts of the world to heare the wisedome of *Salomon*. And so it was in *Abraham*, to leave his native countrey for the better, and more free service of his God.

And certainely it will bee esteemed no lesse in those, who (either in their persons or purses) shall religiously endeavour to make millions of those silly seduced *Americans*, to heare, understand and practise the mysterie of godlinesse.

And as is the piety, such is the charity of the worke, exceeding great, to no lesse then the immortall soules of innumerable men, who still sit in darknesse, and in the shadow of death, continually assaulted and devoured by the Dragon, whose greatest delight is to bring others with himselfe into the same irrecoverable gulfe of perdition, what those blind and spirituall distressed *Americans* are, we were, and so had continued had not Apostolicall men afforded greater charity unto us, *Divisis orbe Britannis*, by long Iourneying, and not without great hazard of their lives, then (as yet) hath beene shewed by us unto them.

Wee are not indeed indued with such eminent extraordinary gifts, as were the Primitive Christians; but yet if it be duly considered) how fully and how purely God hath imparted his Gospel unto this Iland, how miraculously, hee hath lately protected us from Spanish Invasions, and Popish conspiracies: and how (at this time) wee abound in shipping, and all manner of provision for Sea: It will bee found, that we (of all nations) are most for the worke, and most ingaged to doe it in due thankfulnesse to God.

Nor is the Arme of the Lord shortned, or his wonted bounty so restrained, but that undertaking the voyage principally for Gods glory, and in compassion to mens soules, we may expect a more then an ordinary blessing from him, whose usuall custome is to honour those that honour him, and most abundantly even in this life to recompence such religious undertakings.

The Spaniard boasteth much of what hee hath already done in this kind, but their owne Authors report their unchristian behaviour, especially their monstrous cruelties to be such, as they caused the Infidels to detest the name of Christ. Your wisedomes may judge of the Lyon by his claw. In one of their Ilands called *Hispaniola* of 200000 of men, as *Benzo* (in his Italian Historie) affirmeth, they had not left 150 soules. And *Lipsius* justly complayneth, that wheresoever they came, they cut downe men as they did corne without any compassion. And as for those that survived, they bought their lives at deare rates: for they put them to beare, their carriages from place to place; and if they fayled by the way, they either miserably dismembred, or killed them out-right. They lodged them like bruite beasts under the planks of their ships, till their flesh rotted from their backs: And if any failed in the full performance of his daily taske, hee was sure to bee whipped till his body distilled with goar blood, and then poured they in either molten pitch or scalding oyle to supple him.

A very strange, and unlikely way to worke Infidels unto the faith, neither yet could they (if they would) impart unto others the Gospel in the truth and purity thereof, who have it not themselves, but very corruptly, accompanied with many idle, absurd, idolatrous Inventions of their owne, which are but as so many superstructures wickedly oppressing, if not utterly subverting the very foundations of Christianity.

And although some of the reformed religion, *English*, *Scotch*, *French*, and *Dutch*, have already taken up their habitations in those parts, yet hath their going thither (as yet) beene to small purpose, for the converting of those nations, either for that they have placed themselves but in the skirts of *America*, where there are but few natives (as those of new *England*, or else for want of able and conscionable Ministers (as in *Virginia*) they themselves are become exceeding rude, more likely to turne Heathen, then to turne others to the Christian faith.

Besides, there is a little or no hope our Plantations there should be of any long continuance, since here in *England* for some yeares last past, they have beene rather diversly hindred, then any wayes furthered, how, and by whom, your wisedomes, either have or will shortly find out, but this is evident, that the proud superstitious Spaniard (who hateth their religion, and feareth their neighbours, will spare them no longer then (to his overswelling greatnesse) shall seem good: And in the judgement of most judicious Travellers that way, they may (if they will) easily enough suppresse and destroy all other our Plantations, as they

did of late, that of Saint *Christophers*, when they were no way provoked by us, they will now pretend they are, by a latter taking of *Trinidado*, and the losse of more then 150. of their men there. At least they will bee sure to be desperately assaulted, as was the Ile of *Providence*, but the yeare last past.

Whence your Petitioner offereth unto your Honourable considerations a third Argument (drawne from meere necessity) that as you tender the happy proceeding of those (as yet) but weakly settled Plantations, the liberties, livelihood, and lives of many thousands our deare brethren, and countrymen: And which is yet, more the prosperous progress of the gospel, you would be pleased to consult of such an able and speedy supply, as may secure them against the now expected cruelty of the Spaniard.

To which needfull supply the better and sooner to induce your wisedomes your Petitioner desireth your yet a little further patience, until hee hath shewed some temporall benefits that are thereby like to acrew unto this Kingdome, together with the easinesse of effecting.

When a Kingdom beginneth to be over-burthened with a multitude of people (as *England* and *Scotland* now do) to have a convenient place where to send forth Colonies is no small benefit: And such are the North-east and North-west parts of *America*, betweene the degrees of 25. and 45. of the North latitude, which, at this time doe even offer themselves unto us, to bee protected by us, against the knowne cruelty of the over-neare approaching Spaniard.

A very large tract of ground containing spacious, healthfull, pleasant, and fruitfull countries, not only apt, but already provided of all things necessary for mans sustentation, Corne, Grasse, and wholsome cattell in good competencie; but Fish, Fowle, Fruits and Herbs in abundant variety.

If wee should looke no further, then the South of *Virginia*, (which is our owne) wee shall find there all manner of provision for life besides Merchantable Commodities, Silke, Vines, Cotton, Tobacco, Deer-skins, Goat-skins, rich Furre, and Beavers good store, Timber, Brasse, Iron, Pitch, Tarre, Rosin; and almost all things necessary for shipping, which if they shall bee employed that way; they who are sent away may (with Gods blessing) within short time in due recompence of their setting forth, returne this Kingdome store of silver and gold, pearles and precious stones; for undoubtedly (if there be not a generall mistake in all Authors, who have written of these places) such treasure is to bee had, if not there, yet in places not farre remote, where (as yet) the Spaniard hath nothing to doe. And in case the Span-

iard will bee troublesome to our Plantations, or shall (as it is generally conceived) bee found an Enemy to this Kingdome, there is no way more likely to secure *England*, then by having a strong Navie there; hereby wee may come to share, if not utterly to defeat him of that vaste Indian Treasure, wherewith hee setteth on fire so great a part of the Christian World, corrupteth many Counsellors of state, supporteth the Papacie, and generally perplexeth all reformed Churches.

Nor need any scrupulous quere bee made, whether wee may not assault an enemy in any place, or not esteeme them such as shall assault us in those places, where wee have as much to doe as they. The Spaniard claimeth indeed an Interest, little lesse then hereditarie in almost all *America*, and the *West Indies*, but it is but by vertue of the Popes grant, which is nothing worth, as was long since determined by Queene *Elizabeth*, and her Councell; so as for the Spaniard to debarre us in the liberty of our Plantations, or freedome of commerce in those spacious countries, were over proudly to take upon him; and for us to permit it were over-much to yeeld of our own right.

Especially, when we may, as now we may, so easily helpe our selves: For your Petitioner conceiveth there is no great difficulty in the preparation here, or tediousnesse in the passage thither, or hazard when wee come there. The preparation of men and shipping, in respect of the daily happy expected accord betweene us and the *Scots*, is (upon the matter) already made; and as for money it is in the power of this Honourable House to give sufficient, without any grievance, or dislike of the Commonwealth, who (undoubtedly) in the generall will thinke nothing grievous, which shall bee concluded by your wisedomes, expedient to such a pious and charitable worke.

And as for the passage, how can it be thought either tedious or dangerous. it being ordinarily but six weekes sayle, in a sea much more secure from Pirats, and much more free from shipwrack, and enemies coasts, then our ten or twelve moneths voyage into the *East-Indies*. And as for our good successe there, wee need not feare it. The natives being now every where more then ever, out of an inveterate hatred to the Spaniard, ready and glad to entertaine us, Our best friends the Netherlanders being with eight and twenty ships gone before to assist and further us. And which is much more, our going with a generall consent in Gods cause, for the promoting of the Gospel, and inlarging of his Church, may assure us of a more then ordinary protection and direction. That

hitherto wee have been lesse successefull in our voyage that way, wee may justly impute it to this, that as yet they have not beene undertaken with such a generall consent, and with such a full reference to Gods glory as was requisite.

And so your Petitioner having delivered his apprehension herein more briefely, then so weighty a matter might well require, hee submits all the premises to your more full deliberation and conclusion, which hee humbly prayeth, may bee with all convenient speed; the onely best way under God to make it the better successefull.

WEe whose names are here under-written, having beene upon occasion acquainted with a motion intended to bee made by Master *William Castell*, Parson of *Courtenhall* in the county of *Northampton*, to the High and honourable Court of Parliament now assembled, concerning the propagation of the glorious Gospel of Christ in *America*. As wee doe well approve of the motion; so we do humbly desire his reasons may bee duly considered: And so good a worke furthered their wiser judgements may resolve upon, to which we humbly submit the same.

Iohn Mosely.	D.D	Ministers of LONDON.
Ra: Brownricke.	D.D	
Thomas Bambrig.	D.D	*George Walker.*
Robert Sanderson.	D.D	*Iames Palmer,*
Richard Alleyne.	D.D	*Edward Marbury.*
Daniel Featly.	D.D	*Ioseph Caryll.*
Mathias Styles.	D.D	*Edmond Calamy.*
Edmond Stanton.	D.D	*Adoniram Byfield.*
Stephen Denison.	D.D	*William Price.*
Edw. Williamot.	D.D	*Richard Maden.*
Ionathan Brown.	D.D	*Iames Batty.*
Iasper Fisher.	D.D	*Math: Griffeth.*
Hanniball Potter.	D.D	*Ephraim Paget.*
Anthony Clapton.	D.D	*Robert Pory.*
Thomas Drayton.	D.D	*William Ianeway.*
Iohn Grant.	D.D	*Nathaniel Barry.*

Ministers of severall other Counties.

Iohn White.	Dorset-shire.
William Ford. *Iohn Pyns.*	Somerset-shire.
Zachery Caudry.	Lestershire.
Henry Paynter.	Devonshire.
Stephen Marshall. *Samuell Ioyner.*	Essex.
Iohn Ward.	Suffolke.
Ier: Burroughes.	Northfolke.
Iohn Rawlinson.	Darby.

Moses Capell.
William Rhet. Kent.
Francis Charliot. Buck.
Richard Gifford.
William Englesby. Herford.

Other worthy Ministers of the Diocesse of *Peterburrough*, where the Petitioner liveth.

Daniel Caudery,
Ieremy Whittaker.
Iohn Barry.
Iames Cranford.
Samuel Craddock.
David Ensme.
Edmond Castell.
Samuel Moyle.
Daniel Rogers.
Benjamin Tomkins.
Richard Cooke.
Richard True-man,
Iohn Guderick.
William Spencer.
Edmond Iames.
Iohn Baynard.
George Iay.
Francis Presse.
Iohn Guderick.
Miles Berker.
Francis Atturbury.
Ieremy Stephens.
Iohn Ward.
Peter Fawtract.
William Malkinson.

The motion made by Master *William Castell*, Minister of the Gospel, for propagating of the blessed Evangell of Christ our Lord, and Saviour in *America*, wee conceive in the generall to bee most pious, Christian and charitable. And therefore worthy to be seriously considered, of all that love the glorious name of Christ, and are zealous of the salvation of soules, which are without Christ, and without God in the world, wishing the opportunity and fit season: the instruments and means. And all things necessary for the prosecution of so pious a worke, to bee considered by the wisedomes of Churches and civill powers, whom God hath called, and enabled with Piety, Prudence, and Peace, for matters of publicke concernment, and of so great Impor-

tance, And beseeching the Lord to blesse all their consultations, and proceedings for the advancing, and establishing the Kingdome of Iesus Christ.

Alexander Henderson.
Robert Blare.
R. Baillie.
M. Gillaspie.
N. Smyth.
M. Borthrick.

FINIS.

DATE DUE

MAR 15 1985	DEC 01 1987		APR 14 1991
MAR 13 1985	FEB 26 1994		APR 27 2003
JAN 5	FEB 28 1994		
JAN 21 1987	MAR 14 1994		APR 17 2003
SEP 03 1			MAY 06 2003
OCT 10 1989	MAR 17 1994		DEC
OCT 09 1989	JAN 03 1995		JAN 04 2005
OCT 05 1990			
SEP 26 1990	FEB 14 1995		OCT 22 2008
	JAN 06 1997		
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	APR 22 1997		
JUN 05 1992	DEC 15 2003		
JAN 04 1993	JAN 05 2009		

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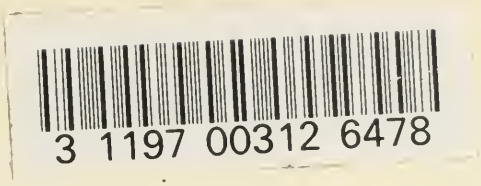
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